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ABSTRACT

The current state of knowledge about and experiences with community participation in worldwide developmental programs are examined in this journal issue. Specific topics addressed in part I include (1) reasons advanced in favor of community participation; (2) issues related to the implementation of primary health care programs and areas for further action; (3) constraints on popular participation in Africa and problems for priority attention; (4) the interpretation of the concepts of development and participation, current issues and dilemmas in theory and practice, and a model of tensions in developmental efforts; and (5) community participation in family planning programs. Contents of part II focus on the past experiences of UNICEF with community participation in basic service provision and with grassroots development efforts in Latin America and the Caribbean. Also included in the issue are research notes concerning power, conflict, and social change in the participation program of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, an annotated list and selected bibliography of articles on community participation, excerpts from and reviews of books on related topics, and a checklist for use in identifying participatory components of projects. (RH)

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Community participation: current issues and lessons learned

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1982

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International Planned Parenthood Federation founded in 1952, is a federation of national planning associations in over 100 countries. Its purpose is to stimulate and assist the forma-

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Recent issues on new development approaches

Participatory research and basic needs, no. 41, 1978

Governments and the people's health, no. 42, 1978

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People, water and sanitation, no. 45/46, 1979

IYC, a new focus on policies and children, no. 47/48, 1979

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Social planning with the urban poor—New government strategies, no. 57/58, 1982

Editorial

Community participation today, some current issues and lessons learned

P.-E. Mandl

High hopes have been vested in community participation. In the mid-seventies, new social development strategies were elaborated, which had as one common component a determination to focus on the underprivileged, who previously had been left out of the mainstream of economic growth. Departing from conventional models, they were based on the desire to satisfy the unmet needs of the vast majority of the populations in developing countries. In practical terms, most rely on the massive use of auxiliaries chosen by the community, and on plans of action based on expressed needs and elaborated, implemented, and evaluated with the local population.

However, some unforeseen problems and distortions have come to the fore. Implementing community participation has been more difficult than anticipated. In a few cases, activities have been repressed or self-help has been used to define situations where the poor have to work on projects imposed from above, while freeing capital for the improvement of the conditions of the more privileged. In many other cases, community participation has indeed led to increased self-reliance and better conditions of existence, but its large-scale extension has proven to be complex.

The time has now come to examine the present state of knowledge and experiences. The papers presented in this volume reflect this concern. The Dossier is divided into two parts: Part I presents some of the theoretical con-

cepts and current issues in community participation, while Part II describes some of the lessons learned. The section "Experiences to be shared" is intended to serve as a working instrument for those seeking additional information in this area.

Many different arguments have been advanced in favour of community participation. From the perspective of the involvement of local populations in development projects, Alastair White, WHO Consultant in Community Education and Participation, examines in Part I of the Dossier ten of these arguments: (1) *more will be accomplished;* (2) *services can be provided at a lower cost;* (3) *participation has an intrinsic value for population groups;* (4) *it can be a catalyst for further development efforts;* (5) *participation leads to a sense of responsibility for a project;* (6) *participation guarantees that a felt need is involved;* (7) *participation ensures things are done the right way;* (8) *it uses indigenous knowledge and expertise;* (9) *it frees populations from dependence on professionals;* (10) *it is a starting point for conscientization.*

The primary health care strategy is based on effective community participation. Five years after the Alma-Ata Declaration on PHC, what have been some of the problems which have arisen in PHC programmes?

Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner, UNICEF Senior Policy Specialist for Community Participation and Family Life, reviews five crucial issues: the differences in the goals attributed to participation in PHC, its political or non-political dimensions, the status of the participants, the question of sectoral or integrated activities, the selection and training of community health workers. She then proposes six major areas for action along with some guidelines for the future.

Can popular participation reasonably be hoped to play a role in the future development of Africa? Jacques Bugnicourt, Executive Secretary of ENDA, Dakar,

analyzes some of the difficulties and constraints to popular participation in Africa: the imposition of a simplified model, the top-down organization of participation, the varying cultural responses to participation, the distortion of the concept by governments, the anti-participatory orientation of the educational and administrative systems, past scorn for traditional knowledge, and the heavy burden participation places on the poorest. He then lists some areas for priority attention if participation is to become a generalized reality in Africa.

Taking into account the widespread economic crisis of the 1980s, Marshall Wolfe, former Chief of the Social Development Division of ECLA, and presently member of the Central Core Group of the UNRISD Popular Participation Programme, analyzes current issues and dilemmas. Against the setting of the different economic development models as they have evolved since the 1950s, he discusses participation and the role of the state in market and centrally planned economies, the conflictual or consensus approaches to social change, new forms of group solidarity, and the cultural choices of development styles.

He proposes a conceptual framework which sets forth the permanence of tensions, first, between the striving for participation and for rationalization, and secondly, between different forces, each with internal divisions: (1) *the state, with its political decision makers, bureaucrats, militarists, and social specialists;* (2) *the already organized sectors of the population; and* (3) *the masses hitherto excluded from control over resources and regulative institutions.*

The Programme Development Department of the International Planned Parenthood Federation evokes some of the problems encountered in community participation in family planning programmes. Discussed are such issues

as services that do not respond to felt needs, internal divisions and hierarchies within communities, the limitations to the ability to participate, the political vulnerability of popular movements, and the achievements of service integration at the local level.

Given the limits, constraints, and political issues encountered in the implementation of popular participation at both the local and central governmental levels, what lessons have been learned? Part II of the Dossier addresses this question.

While UNICEF has been for the past 15 or 20 years promoting community participation here and there, the concept and approach were formalized in A strategy for basic services *in 1976 and adopted by the UN General Assembly the same year. UNICEF's Community Participation and Family Life Section presents some of the lessons learned through UNICEF's experience. One of the major difficulties is avoiding the creation of new patterns of dependency. Special emphasis is given to the participation of women, too often altogether excluded from participatory activities.*

How does one measure the degree of community participation in a given project? A checklist produced by a UNICEF community participation workshop held in May 1981 in Agra, India, is intended to help identify participatory components in the assessment of project proposals as well as in project monitoring or evaluation.

The major lessons derived from the experiences of the Inter-American Foundation in assisting self-help initiatives in Latin America and the Caribbean have been summarized by Peter Hakim, its Vice-President for Research and Evaluation.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) initiated in 1979 a research study on popular participation, coordinated at the time by Mathias Stiefel and Andrew Pearse, who died in December

1980. In the Research Notes, Matthias Stiefel presents the main conceptual approaches they evolved together, the participatory methodology of the research programme, and the present state of the field studies.

Two typologies complete the Research Notes. Marie-Thérèse Feuerstein, a consultant in participatory evaluation, presents a typology of four modes of evaluation: the "study of specimens" approach, the "protection of minors" approach, the "adolescent participation" approach, and the "full or active" participation approach. Rajesh Tandon, founder of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia and Coordinator in New Delhi for the PHC programme of the International Council for Adult Education, presents in a table the distinctions between academic research, commissioned policy evaluation research, and participatory research.

The section "Experiences to be shared" is divided into several sub-sections.

In May 1982, delegates from 37 countries and 10 UN agencies gathered in Ljubljana to compare the policies and share the experiences of Member States in popular participation. Karen Houston Smith, UNICEF Policy Specialist in Community Participation and Family Life, reports on the meeting organized by the UN Department of Technical Cooperation for Development.

Since 1976 Assignment Children *has published on the subject of community participation no less than 22 articles on new policies and trends and 70 case studies of innovative programmes. Summaries of these articles and case studies are presented in an annotated index, organized by subject areas. An analysis of the case studies (21 from Africa, 27 from Asia, and 22 from Latin America) demonstrates the diversity of situations in which community-based programmes have evolved and the diversity of meanings attached to such general notions as community participation or political will.*

What has been published on community participation in English, and where? The point has been made by many researchers that much more is going on than is known, and that the primary need is not new research, but the sharing of existing findings. In this perspective, we have compiled a selective bibliography.

Two books have been given particular attention. Dr. Kusum P. Shah, who with her husband, Dr. P. M. Shah, was a PHC pioneer in India (the Kasa project), reviews the latest book by David Werner and Bill Bower, on Helping health workers learn. *Because, in the last analysis, community participation cannot be dissociated in the Third World from development planning, large excerpts are reproduced from the Preface by Ray Bromley and Eduardo S. Bustelo to the book they edited in Portuguese,* Politics versus techniques in planning.

The Book Reviews present a selection of other recent publications touching on some of the aspects dealt with in this volume.

Dossier
Part I

Current issues
in community participation

Current issues

Why community participation?

A discussion of the arguments

Alastair T. White
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While community participation can be understood as referring to the entire political and economic process of a country, Alastair White here defines it as "the involvement of local populations in the decision making concerning development projects or in their implementation". From this point of view, with reference particularly to the planning and implementation of community water supply and sanitation schemes, he examines ten of the reasons which have been advanced in favour of participation, discussing both their applications and their constraints.

Community participation in local development projects

Despite the great diversity in the objectives sought through popular participation, and the different ways in which the term has been understood and interpreted, a certain consensus has begun to emerge on a working definition among some of the international organizations involved in development. Accord-

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Excerpted from Alastair White, *Community participation in water and sanitation: concepts, strategies and methods*, Technical Paper no. 17, WHO, International Reference Centre for Community Water Supply and Sanitation, The Hague, June 1981, pp. 1-26.

ing to this definition, participation has three dimensions: the involvement of all those affected in decision making about what should be done and how; mass contribution to the development effort, i.e., to the implementation of the decisions; and sharing in the benefits of the programmes.[1] A fourth element is sometimes considered: namely, local participation in evaluation. However, this may be considered to be part of the decision-making process.

These ideas can be understood so broadly as to be referring to the entire political and economic process of a country: popular participation then becomes another term to designate democracy, full employment or access to the means of production, and an equitable distribution of income. There is a large gap between these general (macro-societal) goals and the kinds of activities typically carried out in the name of participation. Indeed, there appears to be a real danger that the confusion of broad goals with specific activities such as the founding of cooperatives, local community development committees, literacy or health education campaigns, or allowing people to choose the layout of roads or water-pipes in their neighbourhood,[2] will divert attention away from the broad goals or give a spurious impression that they are being achieved.

Therefore, it has to be made clear that in discussing community participation here we are not concerned directly with these broad goals of democracy, employment, or income distribution: they must be pursued separately. The only exception is where community participation projects contribute—usually in a minor way—toward these goals.

Then, of the three dimensions mentioned, the sharing of benefits is of a different order: it does not distinguish projects in which services are delivered *to* the population, from those in which the population takes an active part. Therefore, while bearing in mind that the equitable sharing of benefits is essential, we take community participation to be defined as the involvement of the local population actively in the decision

[1] *Towards a typology of popular participation*, Policy Planning and Program Review Department, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., May 1978, 16 p.

[2] *Ibid.*

making concerning development projects or in their implementation.

Finally, the involvement of the population in the physical work of implementing a project can hardly be considered as community participation unless there is at least some degree of sharing of decisions with the community. Thus, when an outside agency remains in total control of the process and merely calls upon the beneficiaries to give their labour directly, one cannot speak of community participation even though there is an element of self-help labour. As a WHO report puts it:

> In the old ideology, "involvement" was conceptualized too often as an effort on the part of individuals to assist in the implementation of plans already made and targets set vertically. This kind of involvement prescribed passive acceptance of services and provision of support in cash or in kind, in giving money for a pump, digging a well for a water supply, or laying bricks for a health centre or a school. For some, it was a means of cheap labour and was aimed mostly at rural areas. The dynamics of a changing society, however, demand much more than mere acceptance, allegiance, and unpaid labour.
>
> The new type of involvement requires identification with the movement, which grows only out of involvement in thinking, planning, deciding, acting and evaluating, focussed on one purpose, namely socio-economic development, of which health is only one part—a major part nonetheless. It, indeed, is a mental process as well as a physical one.[3]

It is also necessary to make a distinction between the participation of some local individuals (beneficiaries) and the participation of the organized community as such. The word "community" denotes a social entity, organized in some fashion, however loose and informal, and with some sense of identity—not just the inhabitants of a locality.

On the other hand, it may be unrealistic to insist that "true" community participation is only achieved when the local people are in full control of the process or decide entirely for

[3] Health education with special reference to the primary health care approach, a background document of the WHO Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean, *International Journal of Health Education*, Supplement to vol. XXI, no. 2, April-June 1978, p. 4.

themselves which activities should be embarked upon. It would be difficult for a sectoral agency of government, such as a water authority, to put into operation such a concept of community participation. Autonomy of this sort may be considered a special form of participation, to be achieved only under particular circumstances.

A discussion of the arguments

The case for community participation in many fields of development is now well recognized. In the field of health services, for instance, it is a central aspect of the concept of primary health care, which has been adopted by the World Health Assembly as the organizing principle around which to "bring health to all by the year 2000". The advantages which are foreseen as arising from community participation include the expectation that governments' budgetary resources can be stretched or complemented by the efforts which can be made within local communities, but they go well beyond this. Altogether, at least ten distinct reasons have been advanced in favour of participatory methods, as discussed below. All of the reasons will not be found equally valid from every point of view, while some may be thought to apply in some situations and others in different ones, but they are not in general mutually exclusive, and taken together they make a strong argument.

It must be emphasized that the brief discussions of each of these ten reasons, which follow, are aimed at presenting a brief and, to the extent possible, a balanced view of each one—not, as in much of the literature on the question, a one-sided and oversimplified argument in favour.

1. More will be accomplished

Much of the impetus for the movement toward community participation derives from the observation that conventional services have not been extended to the rural areas, or even the urban poor, at a fast enough rate. If people are to receive the

services (also increasingly seen as their right) within the foreseeable future, it is regarded as necessary that they themselves take action to provide them in as self-reliant a way as possible.

For some proponents, the implication is that the conventional service agencies are unlikely to change their approach, so that communities will have to organize themselves to meet their own needs if they are to be met at all. This pessimistic view of the potential for the reorientation of government agencies to the needs of the poor is obviously more justified in some countries than in others. It is in part a question of politics: whether the government represents or is genuinely committed to the interests of the poor majority of the population. In the second place, it is also a question of the interests and attitudes within the staff of government agencies: they are often able to exert a considerable influence.

Naturally, the pessimistic view of government is held more often, or at least more openly, by those working in voluntary agencies than by the government personnel themselves, and for many voluntary agencies within developing countries, as well as for some of the sponsoring agencies in Western Europe and North America, the principle of community participation and self-help is seen as the one viable alternative to dependence on the voluntary agency for charity. The function of the agency is consequently seen as being to foster community organization for self-reliance in such a way that it will become self-perpetuating in each community as rapidly as possible: the agency will then be able to withdraw in order, perhaps, to accomplish the same task in a new set of communities. The argument here is for voluntary agency-stimulated community action rather than simply the use of participatory methods.

The view that more will be accomplished if the energies of the people are harnessed is by no means confined to voluntary agencies, however. It is a view which now lies at the heart of much development thinking, following disillusionment with older assumptions that development would flow from capital investment in "modern" economic and social institutions. A number of countries have launched programmes to raise the productivity of the poorest and least productive, with an em-

phasis on public participation. An example is the Indian Integrated Rural Development Programme, which also stresses the need for organizations of the poor.[4] In Africa, the Tanzanian approach to self-reliance is well known; but it is not confined to that country.

Reliance on the people's energies as the primary motive force for development may be said to have originated and been carried the furthest in countries with socialist socio-economic systems. In the People's Republic of China, Mao's "mass line" was a guiding principle of that country's development, and achieved full expression in the field of water and environmental sanitation (with the "Patriotic Health Movement") as well as in simple health care (with cooperative medicine and barefoot doctors). Viet Nam in particular has followed a broadly similar policy of its own,[5] with popular participation in health closely integrated with the provision of services by the Ministry of Health. The argument in these cases is for government-stimulated community action.

In some countries, for instance in West Africa, a provision exists for district executive offices to provide materials such as cement and expert help to village communities which undertake the building of classrooms or the digging of wells. It would seem that a very strong commitment at the national political level is necessary for a policy of government-stimulated community action to achieve any large-scale success—and while the rhetoric is generally approved, the reality is one of low commitment in most countries, reflected in low budgets for the community development agencies and district executive offices charged with supporting community activities in this way.

Also, technical ministries and departments have generally shown little enthusiasm for these small-scale local improvements, preferring to concentrate on large- and medium-scale projects. Thus, while it may be true that more can be accomplished through the population undertaking self-reliant

[4] R.N. Azad, IRD: concepts, objectives and strategies, *Indian Farming*, October-November 1978.

[5] Joan McMichael (ed.), *Health in the Third World; studies from Vietnam*, Spokesman, Nottingham, 1976.

action, there is a need to establish an adequate structure to stimulate such action, and this in itself is a large undertaking and a significant departure from the administrative arrangements and habits of most Third World states.

On the other hand, when it is a question of a water agency using participatory methods, the argument that more can be accomplished must be based on a rather different premise, namely that the gain of a community contribution will outweigh the costs involved—the additional staff required in the administration of such a programme of liaison with communities, etc.

2. Services can be provided at lower cost

Perhaps this is only another way of looking at the foregoing argument: if services can be provided at lower cost to each community, they can be provided to more communities altogether. However, the reference to the comparative cheapness of a participatory approach is usually made from the perspective of government, and implies that resources are saved by a government agency which uses community contributions to help complete its projects, and are released for completing more projects or for other government purposes in general. Given that the cheapness is achieved only in part by a reduction of the total costs, it is in part a transfer of a burden in real resource terms onto the community, relative to the position that would have obtained if the service had been provided directly.

It is therefore of the greatest relevance to ask who benefits from this: it may involve a redistribution from the relatively poor to the relatively rich. In feudal societies, unpaid *corvée* labour could be called upon as a cheap way of meeting the requirements of the manor or the state, and there have been recent historical parallels in most parts of the developing world. The main difference between these practices and a labour contribution in a context of community participation is that in the latter case it is the contributing members themselves who should benefit: but in practice it cannot always be taken for granted that they will.

Cost reduction need not only be a question of not paying for labour, however, but of adopting organizational and technical solutions which are cheaper and may also be more appropriate to the local environment. Village health workers, for instance, may actually be more effective than doctors in the village, if they are well trained for the circumstances in which they will work: they understand the environment, and are typically well motivated to work within it.

3. Participation has an intrinsic value for participants

Apart from the more instrumental advantages of community participation as a means to achieve other ends, it is often argued that people simply should be able to participate actively in the processes which affect them, having a voice in the decisions that are taken, and a part in their implementation. Apart from the intrinsic satisfaction that this may bring, and the avoidance of feelings of alienation and powerlessness, we may also mention the possibility that an increase in cooperative interaction will lead to a more united community. These are, however, probably not measurable effects, and the increased activity will provide occasions for friction as well as for harmony. Even participation may have little intrinsic value if it is, in practice, on terms defined by others.

Thus, while the argument for community participation applies both to the use of participatory methods by a water agency and to "community action", in the former case it is only valid if the aim of community "involvement in thinking, planning, deciding, acting and evaluating" is taken seriously by the agency.

4. Catalyst for further development efforts

This argument is more specific than the postulate that community participation will lead to a more united community. It is thought that the organizational patterns created for one project—the committees and the arrangements for voluntary

labour—as well as the enthusiasm generated by one success, will provide both the means and the stimulus for further efforts to tackle other needs. This assumes that it has been the organizational framework and the stimulus that have been lacking in the past, while other constraints are less important. Among the other constraints which should not be discounted are those stemming from social structure (such as the fear which people might reasonably have that others will gain more than themselves), or a lack of worthwhile projects which can realistically be completed by the community without outside help. Where these constraints do not exist or can be overcome—where, for instance, outside help is made available for further projects—there are certainly examples of communities which have completed further development efforts in this way.

In the stimulation of community action, two relevant questions are:

1) Does the external agency continue to offer stimulus and help? It has often proved illusory to expect a community, organized for one project under outside stimulus, to carry on with other projects when that stimulus is no longer there. (In some cases, a very active local resident may take over the role of stimulator.)

2) Are other problems as salient? It is natural that a community may cooperate to solve a most pressing problem such as its need for a water supply, but be less inclined to cooperate for other purposes which may not be recognized by all as necessary. It has been suggested in some places, particularly in Eastern Africa, that people have very reasonably become resistant to further demands for contributions to communal projects.

5. Participation leads to a sense of responsibility for the project

It is thought that when people have taken an active part in the planning and/or implementation of a project, they will collectively consider the completed project as their own, have pride in it and a sense of responsibility for it, and therefore use

it, do so responsibly and avoid damaging it, and do their best to maintain it. The argument is based in part on the familiarity which each community member will have gained with the project, but in greater part on the idea of the emotional investment he will have made in it. There is a question whether people always do feel this way: in some cases, it is suggested on the contrary, villagers feel that they have made their contribution at the construction stage and it is now more than ever the responsibility of government, the usual provider of such services, to maintain the project.[6] In any case, it is quite clear that if maintenance is to be carried out, special provision must be made for it, and the sense of responsibility which the community may feel is not enough. As in some of the other expectations held about community participation, outsiders expect the community to respond as they themselves would, *or think they would*; but communities are not individuals. To speak of a community having a commitment to a project can only be a metaphor for a range of attitudes among individual community members, none of whom may value the project particularly highly in relation to his own private affairs.

6. Participation guarantees that a felt need is involved

This argument for participation differs from the others in that the advantage is not seen as being a consequence of the participatory effort, but as residing in a better selection of project sites. Communities demonstrate their need for the project and their willingness to support and use it once completed, by making the collective effort to organize and participate in construction, or by making a financial contribution.

A number of water agencies, for instance, like that of Lesotho, make it a condition before including a village on their programmes of construction of supplies (itself done with self-help labour) that the village should have deposited a financial contribution in advance. The collection of the contributions from individual households is a major effort for a village to

[6] Richard Feachem et al., *Water, health and development, an interdisciplinary evaluation*, Tri-Med Books Ltd., London, 1978, 284 p.

organize, and it is apparently felt that to have made the effort demonstrates a strong communal commitment. Other agencies take the view that in their countries an application from a community, perhaps in writing, or made by a formal delegation, made with a promise of a community contribution, represents commitment enough.

Where communities in effect compete for limited government resources by demonstrating their readiness to make a contribution, a number of anomalies can arise. The more backward communities and regions are likely to be left even further behind, since those which are already better off and closer to centers of power will be able to organize more effectively. There is a danger that in the competition, too many villages will go ahead with collecting money or actually constructing buildings for services which the government is in no position to provide on such a large scale for several years at least (this happened in the Lesotho example); or (the case of secondary schools in Kenya) which it may never be reasonable to locate in so many small places. There is not even a guarantee that the projects are really wanted by a majority of the population, since when competition for resources comes to be a matter of the number of self-help projects begun, local politicians and dominant groups may exert considerable pressure on the population to take part. The poor may be induced to contribute to the building of, say, a secondary school to which access is theoretically open to all but which, in practice, caters primarily for the children of the better off.[7]

In general, it might be considered that if a community agrees to make a contribution to a project in collaboration with an external agency, and if the agency is satisfied that all sections of the community support this community decision, that is sufficient to establish that a felt need is involved. In other words, it is not necessary for the initiative to come from the community or for a prior contribution to be collected. The above discussion assumes the situation of the water agency using par-

[7] Geoff Lamb, *Peasant politics, conflict and development in Murang'a*, Julian Friedman, London, 1974; Marcelo Grondín, *Comunidad Andina: explotación calculada*, Secretaría de Estado de Agricultura, Santo Domingo, 1978, p. 226.

ticipatory methods, or contemplating their use. It could, on the other hand, be argued that an even stronger felt need is proved where community action is undertaken without any great external agency input. However, many needed projects in many communities, particularly poorer ones, do require outside help.

7. Participation ensures things are done the right way

If the users take an active part in the planning and design of the systems they will use, then these systems will presumably be better adapted to their needs than if the technical solutions are decided by outsiders without consultation. Some observers, however, make a distinction between major technical alternatives and such questions as location (e.g., of standpipes) or the detailed design of the components of most direct interest to the user. The distinction may be useful, but there could be a danger that it will lead to the assumption that the population can have no view on the more basic design issues, whereas these may be fundamental to meeting their needs: an example is that it is essential to take pastoralists' knowledge into account in siting water-points in semi-arid pastoral areas, but they are often disregarded by more educated members of other ethnic groups.[8]

It may be that the exercise of an open-minded and imaginative approach by the professionals or experts involved is as important as the participation of the users, and is in fact a necessary complement if user involvement is to lead to improved design in most circumstances, since many users will simply assume that the experts know best and will not raise alternative possibilities themselves.

There is one potential problem which may be mentioned here: when given the opportunity to choose between different technical solutions, there is a tendency for people to choose the

[8] M.L. Parkipuny, Malambo, Masai District, in Gerhard Tschannerl and Mark R. Mujwahuzi, *Impact of rural water supply: eight self-help schemes in Arumeru, Masai and Lushoto Districts*, BRALUP Research Paper no. 37, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Dar-es-Salaam, 1975.

solution which is more "modern", sophisticated, or expensive, for reasons connected with prestige. This is particularly true if they will not bear very much of the additional cost of a more expensive solution, or if the cheaper one requires more work which they will have to do without payment. For instance, in Ghana, where communal village latrines are common, villagers often state a preference for the type emptied by vacuum truck over the deep trench-pit latrine. The latter has to be replaced by village labour when it is full, whereas the vacuum truck operates at the expense of local government, an expense which is not charged to the particular village. Yet the pit latrine may be regarded as more appropriate to rural Ghana than the vacuum truck, which is subject to frequent breakdowns.[9]

Therefore, it is clear that consultation on technical options must be approached carefully. Villages cannot be asked to plan something they do not know about, nor of course to take over the technical design, which is the legitimate responsibility of the engineer. But they can have a useful part to play in the discussion where there is a choice to be made between alternative solutions either in terms of major decisions over types of system to be adopted, or more minor questions of the design of user facilities—and useful suggestions for design improvements may emerge from open discussion. Openness is also required over the costs of different solutions and who will bear them.

8. Use of indigenous knowledge and expertise

Recent years have seen a fundamental change in the attitudes of professionals in many fields toward the value of the knowledge and skills possessed by indigenous practitioners in their fields. It is now generally accepted that indigenous practices are usually very well adapted to the circumstances in which they developed. One of the arguments for participation is that it enables progressive change to take place while making

[9] IDS Health Group, *Health needs and health services in rural Ghana*, IDS Research Report, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, vol. I, 1978, p. 218.

use of this knowledge and adapting it to new circumstances, rather than discarding it and devaluing its possessors.

There are two aspects: close attention can be given to local expertise during the process of consultation in the planning and design stage; and indigenous techniques and experts can be used in the implementation of projects. Examples of the latter include the use of the indigenous medical traditions in China, or (on a completely different scale, of course) of indigenous building methods in the water storage projects conducted by Guggenheim among the Dogon in Mali.[10] This approach involves strong respect for and understanding of the indigenous technology, but also a dynamic view which does not see it as a cultural heritage to be preserved separately and kept pure, but rather as a useful expertise to be improved upon by combination with elements of "Western" technology.

In many cases, of course, an introduced technology will be indisputably better in all respects; but sometimes indigenous techniques have advantages even when they appear less efficient or more costly: they use local labour and raw materials rather than imports; maintenance and repair will be easier for local craftsmen, and there will be less demand for scarce skilled manpower or spare parts; or the indigenous technique serves some additional purpose neglected in a superficial comparison. In the field of agricultural extension, there are many cases where farmers have been induced to adopt new practices which were not to their advantage.[11] A similar thing can happen also in the field of nutrition education.[12]

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[10] Hans Guggenheim and Rosalie Fanale, Water storage through shared technology: four projects among the Dogon in Mali, *Assignment Children*, no. 45/46, UNICEF, Geneva, Spring 1979, pp. 151-166.

[11] H.D. Dias, Selective adoption as a strategy for agricultural development, lessons from adoption in S.E. Sri Lanka, in B.H. Farmer (ed.), *Green revolution?*, Macmillan, London, 1977, pp. 70-72; S.Y. Atsu, *The Focus and Concentrate Programme in the Kpandu and Ho Districts: evaluation of an agricultural extension programme*, Technical Publication Series no. 34, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana, Legon, 1974, esp. pp. 52-72.

[12] G.M. Gordon, The evaluation of a nutritional program in Northern Ghana, in *Getting the most out of food*, no. 12, Van den Berghs and Jurgens Nutrition Education Service, 1976.

It may be that the successful advocacy of latrines has, in some cases, had a similarly negative result: "The availability of simple privies, as we noted in several countries, did not add anything to the solution of the problem. Because many of these were unsanitary they proved, in fact, to have a statistically significant adverse effect."[13]

In making use of indigenous expertise there is the problem, for the water agency using participatory methods, that it has to operate on a large scale and cannot easily plan for making use of local techniques and expertise of which it may have no knowledge. It is no accident that, for instance, Guggenheim's water storage projects took place in a few villages only. In some cases, it may be possible for an imaginative approach to indigenous techniques to be adopted by a water agency, but this argument for participation generally applies more strongly to situations of "community action", whether externally stimulated or autonomous.

9. Freedom from dependence on professionals

Largely because professional skills are scarce and can be sold in an international market-place where fees are dependent on the rates of pay in rich countries, and, some would say, because the scarcity of these skills is institutionally maintained through insistence on unnecessarily long and expensive periods of professional education not geared to urgent local needs, professionals in most developing countries enjoy a standard of living incomparably higher than that of the mass of the population. In this context, a radical approach to community participation envisages the prospect of freeing the mass of the population from dependence on a virtual monopoly of expertise controlled by professionals. In the health field, for in-

[13] *Summary report on diarrhoeal diseases in seven developing countries over a five-year period, 1960-1965*, World Health Organization, Geneva, 1966, quoted by Robert J. Saunders and Jeremy J. Warford, *Village water supply, economics and policy in the developing world*, published for The World Bank, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1976, p. 212.

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stance, in this view, collective self-care can replace the need for paying comparatively huge sums for treatment by a doctor.[14]

In this extreme form, the view may be said to be born of despair of the political system ensuring a fairer distribution of income or access to adequate services. One school of thought[15] contends that even state provision of services to all is an undesirable solution, since the services are still provided by professionals, people are subjected to their control, and their monopoly is preserved. Instead, people should be equipped for autonomously fulfilling their own needs, as individuals and small communities. It is difficult to imagine the socio-political structure of a society which met this condition.

However, a less extreme view sees scope for moving in the direction of disseminating more widely the knowledge and skills which have been the preserve of narrow professional elites, as in the case of the Chinese barefoot doctors. In the field of water supply, the suggestion is that a participatory programme can teach mechanical and other skills, and that every effort should be made to make this teaching as generally useful as possible. A villager trained in operation and maintenance might be enabled to open a mechanical workshop. Such training can also end a monopoly by one local craftsman.[16]

10. Conscientization

Participation in efforts to bring about communal improvements should, even (or especially) if the efforts are frustrated, help people better to understand the nature of the constraints which are hindering their escape from poverty. They may learn how to make more effective demands on

[14] David Bradford Werner, *The village health worker—lackey or liberator?*, paper prepared for the International Hospital Federation Congress, sessions on health auxiliaries and the health team, Tokyo, 22-27 May, 1977, 16 p.

[15] Ivan Illich, *Limits to medicine—medical Nemesis: the expropriation of health*, Marion Boyars, London, 1976, 296 p.

[16] Bo Westman and Fred Hedkvist, *The impact of the rural water program in Tanzania*, Research Division, SIDA, Stockholm, 1972, p. 7.

government, or acquire a new resolve to change a situation of oppression in which they find themselves.

This is, of course, precisely the reason why some governments which represent entrenched interests are suspicious of efforts to arouse community participation. Government agencies may be prevented from using participatory methods, or alternatively the form of participation may be kept under strict control, defined narrowly in terms of the completion of projects and provision of services rather than in terms of increasing local organizational capacity, and de-emphasizing all elements which might bring into question the distribution of benefits from particular projects or the distribution of wealth and power at local or national levels.

In other countries, the government's interest in improving the position of weaker sections of the population is to varying degrees frustrated by *local* power structures. Two broad approaches to the problem are possible: close targeting of programmes to benefit weaker sections, implemented through the bureaucracy and with administrative controls to ensure that the benefits reach those for whom they are intended; and, on the other hand, the encouragement of organization among the poor to claim their rights. This begins with "conscientization", the development of consciousness among the weaker sections concerning the structural causes of their situation, or at least their rights under existing laws. The two approaches are not in conflict and may be adopted together, but they seem to reflect different opinions or assessments of what is likely to be successful. In India, for instance, the two approaches are reflected respectively in the Integrated Rural Development Programme with its strategy of "decentralized micro-level block planning for full employment", which carries planning down to the level of the individual family,[17] and the National Adult Education Programme, whose objectives are explicit on the need for conscientization. The differing opinions are reflected in different views of the role of local government institutions—in terms of their existing tendency to be "dominated by the rich and the

[17] R.N. Azad, *op. cit.*

strong"[18] or in terms of their potential to serve as organizations more representative of the weaker sections.[19]

Where local government institutions are less well developed, the committee structures created by community participation programmes may take their place to some degree, as they may also in the villages too small to have their own local government councils. Then, the same question often poses itself: are they necessarily dominated by the rich and the strong, perhaps even preventing benefits from reaching the weaker sections—or do they have the potential of strengthening the hand of the poor?

[18] Government of India, Report of the Working Group on Block Level Planning (Dantwala Committee Report), Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1978, p. 12.

[19] Government of India, Mehta Committee, see Mohit Bhattacharya and S.K. Sharma, Institutional issues in India's rural development, *Community Development Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1979.

Current issues

The participatory imperative in primary health care

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Five years after the declaration of Alma-Ata, what are the significant issues which have been identified in community participation, an essential element of the PHC strategy?

Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner reviews some of the issues which have arisen in the course of the implementation of PHC programmes: the difference in the goals attributed to participation in PHC, its political or non-political dimensions, the status of the participants, the question of sectoral or integrated activities, and the selection and training of community health workers.

In a second part, drawing on these experiences, six major areas for action are suggested, along with some guidelines for the future.

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Significant issues

Although primary health care is officially five years old, having been internationally acclaimed at Alma-Ata in 1978, troublesome growing pains persist. Some of the countries that signed the Health Charter endorsing PHC seem to have forgotten their pledge, if one is to judge by levels of implementation. Others deserve a more sympathetic assessment, considering the difficulties their governments and health personnel have encountered in taking the drastic steps required to reform the health care system. Still others have made impressive strides in enabling people to take responsibility for their own health and further the process of redistributing resources and power in society—which is what PHC is about.

As more and more experience is gained from the wide variety of PHC experiments now under way, certain trends emerge that can be classified as significant issues.

Two interpretations of the concept of PHC

A set of community activities distinct from the formal health system

While PHC is still viewed in some circles as an "alternative" approach to health care, this perspective has been largely superseded by two other interpretations. The more common—but erroneous—one accepted in many countries follows a narrow definition in referring to a level of health care at the periphery of a health system, a set of activities performed at the point of contact between a health care system and the community. It has become synonymous with community health workers (earlier dubbed "barefoot doctors" from the China experience), "low-cost" community health care programmes, or simply health activities that the community carries out as distinct from the formal health system of a country. Accordingly, in this view, PHC has been inappropriately stereotyped as second-class medicine for the poor, a view completely contradictory to the Alma-Ata Declaration.

A new health care strategy for all

The second—and correct—interpretation of PHC views it as *a general strategy or approach* which embodies explicit principles and values. Those familiar with the concept of "alternative development" will recognize its kinship to PHC in its avowal of certain values and principles as requisites of good health care. These are the following:

1. *Equity and justice.* The basic right of every individual to health implies the reduction of gaps between those who have access and those not, to health and other resources necessary for maintaining health—such as income, food, employment, education, etc. It postulates a redistribution of resources with particular advantage going to those having the least and whose needs are the greatest.

2. *An overall development strategy that gives high priority to social goals in addition to economic ones.* Recognizing that health is the result of a complex set of socio-cultural, economic, physical, biological, and other components, this principle points to the eradication of poverty as the basic requirement for health.

3. *People imbued with a strong sense of self-reliance and control over their own lives exercising responsibility over their own health.* The role of governments and agencies is not to act in the people's behalf to "deliver" health, but rather to support their efforts and take joint responsibility for health.

4. *The emergence of a new international economic order coupled with a new international development strategy.* A solidarity that transcends national boundaries as regards health for all grows out of a global concern over equity among nations and balanced world development.

The characteristics of PHC

A health care system based on PHC would have the following characteristics: 1) accessibility of services to everyone with the poor receiving priority attention; 2) relevant and effective services which meet the health needs of the majority poor and

which are socially and culturally acceptable to them; 3) functional integration with higher technical levels of the health system; 4) cost-effectiveness through improved efficiency and the allocation of resources so as to achieve the greatest benefit for the majority at the lowest cost; 5) intersectoral collaboration involving close contact with agricultural services, nutrition cadres, educational entities, and the like, similarly oriented to the needs of the majority poor; and 6) community participation in the planning, management, and evaluation of health services at all levels.[1] Let us focus on the least understood characteristic, community or people's participation.

People's participation in PHC

People's participation is intrinsic to PHC. On this much all PHC advocates agree. Beyond that consensus, however, lies a host of arguments that need resolution.

1. Means or end?

Many proponents who hold the narrow view of PHC as a set of activities still pose this spurious dichotomy. They view the active involvement of people in health planning, implementation, and evaluation as merely another "component"—although a particularly important one—for achieving better levels of care. In this instrumental sense, participation is a means to that end. On the other hand, those who regard participation as an end in itself—an obvious good that will enable people to mobilize for their collective benefit—must reckon with socio-political realities. The ends argument, while correct in identifying health as a basic right, can too easily be distorted by elites to justify self-reliant participation as the substitute for

[1] This discussion of the PHC concept covering two interpretations and the characteristics of PHC draws heavily on UNICEF working papers prepared by Susan Cole-King. These are: Primary health care—a look at its current meaning, 30 June 1981; Priority areas for UNICEF involvement in PHC, 1981; Note for the record: visit to Malawi, 2-16 January 1982; and People's involvement in and management of health care, report of Team no. 2, Interregional Seminar on Primary Health Care, Yexian County, Shandong Province, People's Republic of China, 13-26 June 1982.

tangible health care benefits for community residents. This strategy all too readily enables elites to free themselves of the burden of sharing resources and power with the grass-roots majority. Genuine PHC therefore eschews the unidimensional means-or-end, either-or concept of community participation in favour of a holistic fusion.[2]

2. *Who is the community? Who are the people?*

Again, there is general agreement that people's participation refers not to everyone in an identifiable community—since local elites already have a strong say in decision making—but rather to the poor majority with little access to resources and power. The equity principle of PHC militates that it is these groups who, being most in need of better health care, should organize themselves for achieving it. How to do this effectively nonetheless poses problems. For one, peasants frequently maintain a functional paternalistic relationship with one or a few local elite families who would feel threatened by the dependent partners' linking with others of similar class interest. To cut oneself off from dependency upon one's patron is to court economic disaster in the form of losing access to land and other employment. The resulting economic insecurity and deepening poverty obviously has its effects on the family's capacity to achieve even the level of health previously maintained.

One attempt to identify the "people" in Philippine rural communities stipulates the following:

> "People" refers to four rural poor groups: upland farmers, paddy rice farmers, landless agricultural workers, and artisanal fishermen. Although these groups revealed varying patterns of survival, they exhibited a common set of problems: dwindling productive resources available to the poor which forces them to rely increasingly on the sale of their services for economic survival; declining real wages and income resulting from growing

[2] Gelia T. Castillo, How participatory is participatory development, some lessons from the Philippine experience, in *Changing rural institutions and participatory development—a review of the Philippine experience*, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Manila, 1981, p. 5.

> numbers in the labour force and high inflation; low productivity in the economic activities they pursue; low food consumption and nutrition status; lack of effective organization to articulate their needs; and gradual breakdown of traditional coping mechanisms within the village structure. Finally, "people" must be identified in terms of total households to ensure that women, youths, infants, pre-school children, the aged, etc. would be included in the definition.[3]

Add to this the urban poor, many of whom in the larger cities reside in illegal squatter settlements. They tolerate an appalling lack of amenities—clean water supply, sanitation, and housing—which in combination with high levels of unemployment, malnutrition, and poor education leave them in the most deprived of situations. With only a few exceptions, city authorities resist any attempts at providing amenities "lest these squatters be encouraged to stay and attract other rural migrants here". Because of their "illegal" status, participation by these embattled urbanites in health care or other access programmes generates greater resistance than in rural settings. Yet one of the most important features of urban PHC programmes in Indonesia and the Philippines is that the poorer populations are being contacted. "Contact is the *sine qua non* of everything. It is especially so for urban squatters who live in relative isolation (or dread) from local authorities."[4] The need for organized participation thus becomes even more compelling for the urban poor.

3. Sectoral or integrated?

If health is a basic right, not only the health sector but all service sectors should adopt it as a goal. This can create problems, however, when sectorally organized government bureaucracies introduce their wares piecemeal into communities not sufficiently organized to integrate them into an ongoing programme of activities under the people's control. In

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

[4] Samir Sanad Basta, Health programmes directed to urban squatter populations, *Urban planning practice in developing countries*, in John L. Taylor and David G. Williams (eds.), Pergamon Press, 1982, p. 319.

such a setting, health-related activities remain segregated from the life of the community, imposed by outsiders on a passive population. In China, where community organizational structures center primarily on production:

> The community control and financing of all social and economic activities permit a balanced development in which health goals are intimately inter-related with economic and other social goals, and synergisms between different sectoral activities are fully exploited.[5]

In contrast to the heavily community-based development of countries like China, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Viet Nam, developing countries of more capitalist persuasions face difficulties motivating communities to organize themselves for self-reliant development. Each sectoral bureaucracy vies with others in introducing its particular product in hopes of organizing people around that set of activities. Thus, medical personnel trip over nutritionists who elbow out agricultural production technicians competing with water engineers for the farmer's attention. Occasionally, one of these sectoral agencies does succeed in mobilizing people around a specific sector. It soon finds, however, that people do not perceive this to be a discrete set of activities, but rather integrate it over time with other life concerns. The result may well be a positive shift from agency to community control. Nonetheless, this achievement may be viewed by certain powerful elements in a negative light.

In one Southeast Asian community, for example, people running a flourishing PHC project decided to combat malnutrition and poverty—and thereby enhance health—directly through food production. It soon became evident to the community-based health groups that family food production depended on the availability of land for cultivation by the poorer households—which they did not have. Local landholders felt increasingly threatened as community health groups began to articulate the linkage between disease and inequitable land distribution. When government authorities

[5] Susan Cole-King, People's involvement in and management of health care, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

dubbed the health programme "political", outside funding agencies withdrew their support.[6]

In another Southeast Asian country, in one village, when village funds released by the headman for medical treatment in the initially successful PHC scheme were exhausted, the health team sought a more stable source of funds. They decided to purchase land whose crop would yield the needed finances. Two-thirds of the village households, particularly low-income families, donated labour for the project. Never having himself obtained such a degree of cooperation, the headman felt personally insulted by its success. He proceeded to obstruct the team's efforts to build latrines by insisting that the people complete the road project first. Declaring himself the head of the medical committee, he required health team members to join the local civil defense unit. After evicting some landless families from village land and paradoxically turning it over to the team members for their personal use, his motives became clear. These arbitrary measures served to alienate the health team from the other villagers. The subsequent withdrawal of financial support by the wealthier families dealt the PHC project its death blow.[7]

The evidence suggests, therefore, that PHC works best in a community that is organized to tackle all the problems its members face in an integrated manner. When sectoral agencies approach such a community, their expertise can be successfully utilized by an experienced local group. Where communities have not actively organized themselves, the advent of a sectoral agency generates a "top-down" transfer of its narrow body of information to the community in such a way that the people never really integrate it into their lives. Monitoring and evaluation schemes developed and undertaken by the community will go far toward diagnosing these kinds of distortions.

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[6] *CBHP in the Philippines*, Manila, 1981, mimeogr., quoted in Non-governmental PHC programs in Indonesia and the Philippines, *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, no. 84, June 1982, p. 17.

[7] Glen Williams and Satoto, Socio-political constraints on primary health care: a case study from Java, *Development Dialogue*, 1980, no. 1, pp. 85-101, quoted in Non-governmental PHC programs in Indonesia and the Philippines, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

4. Selecting and training community health workers

PHC supporters unanimously advocate community residents' selecting their own local health workers. The rationale for this lies in the credibility the worker will have with prospective clients. Moreover, having been selected by them, he or she is far more likely to feel accountable to them. Yet, the selection process raises many challenges. Often, village officials make the actual choice independently of their constituents. This occurs when the mass of the village population is not adequately organized around their own interests and, being dependent on the village heads, feel relatively powerless to intervene—if they care at all. The party in power also has its say about the candidates the community selects, usually in the form of prior or post-selection approval. In some societies men rather than women are believed to be the appropriate choices.

Levels of education constitute a pre-condition for selection in some countries, given their view that community health workers should possess minimum formal education credentials—completed elementary or secondary school. The average community member does not have this and therefore is ineligible to serve. Where countries have low female literacy levels, this stipulation especially undercuts community women's access to health care by severely limiting the number of female health workers available for women to consult. Other programmes deliberately favour the selection of traditional birth attendants on the assumption that they already enjoy the community's confidence, especially among women and children. Because these birth attendants are frequently older women with their own repertory of folk cures, however, in many instances they resist the expanded functions included in PHC programmes.

The training of community health workers must necessarily correspond to the varied skills they are expected to have. These are as much organizational and motivational as technical. A list of tasks (especially *a*, *f*, and *g*) formulated in the early days of Viet Nam's PHC programme illustrates this:

a. prevent epidemics (smallpox, cholera, plague, typhus, encephalitis, etc.) by means of mass vaccinations;

b. stamp out common infectious diseases gradually (typhoid fever, influenza, dysentery);

c. fight social diseases and parasitic diseases (malaria, trachoma, tuberculosis, etc.);

d. attack common diseases (pneumonia, infantile diarrhoea, etc.);

e. treat common urgent cases (infantile diseases);

f. launch a vast campaign to promote hygiene and prophylactic measures dealing with water supplies, sanitation and rubbish disposal;

g. undertake a mass immunization campaign for the whole population.[8]

The Vietnamese give great importance to combining medical knowledge with an understanding of the socio-cultural, political, and economic dimensions of the community:

> Public health and medical work in the villages, which involves in essence mass activity, requires besides a certain professional competence, a well-developed political consciousness and a thorough knowledge of the area, the people and their ways and customs.[9]

Meriting examination is the debate as to how much curative medical training a community health worker should receive in view of the great strides forward achieved through preventive approaches—immunization, clean water, sanitation, nutrition, and health education, for example. One should, however, bear in mind a Latin American observation:

> Safeguarding the medical profession's monopoly of curative medicine by using the standard argument that prevention is more important than cure (which it may be to us, but clearly is not to a mother when her child is sick), instructors often taught these health workers fewer medical skills than many villagers had already mastered for themselves. This sometimes so reduced the

[8] Joan McMichael (ed.), *Health care for the people; studies from Vietnam*, Alyson Publications, Inc., Boston, 1980, p. 54.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

> people's respect for their health workers that they became less effective, even in preventive measures.[10]

If community health workers are chosen by an organized community conscious of its needs, experienced at trying collectively to satisfy them, and appreciative of the health workers' assistance as expressed in a willingness to compensate them in cash or kind for their services, these health workers are more likely to remain and serve the community. This assumes they have the kinds of curative and preventive medical skills that correspond to what people want, the social skills necessary for effective motivation and communication, and the administrative capacity to gain access to existing health facilities—including the auxiliary support services of physicians and other medical personnel—and to appropriate technology ranging from herb gardens and basic drugs to bicycles and common medical instruments.

5. Political or non-political?

The process by which groups or individuals vie with one another for access to limited resources and decide on how allocations are made can be called political. As PHC aims ultimately to effect the redistribution of resources and decision-making powers so that ordinary citizens at the community level obtain a reasonable share of them—and therefore have more of a say about their own lives, especially health care—then PHC is clearly a political process. Other voices reflecting an experience with grass-root groups are powerful advocates of PHC as a political process:

> Those who are involved in creating an alternative system of health care and people's education should believe more firmly that it is also their task together with others, to bring to life the features of a new society in which the means of production and distribution will no longer create two classes of citizens, whose health for all will be a symbol of "All Progress is for All".

[10] David Werner, The village health worker: lackey or liberator?, *World Health Forum*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1981, p. 48.

> In our own work of training about 200 health workers, most of them illiterate harijans and tribal women, we had evidence that the step by step growth of people is a realistic approach.

The above writer goes on to define four steps in the community health worker's growth in knowledge, skills, and social awareness, two of them relatively non-political: *(1)* early detection and treatment of common diseases and health education rooted in the culture, beliefs, and customs of their people; and *(2)* a more critical understanding of the totality of beliefs that the people connect with health. The third and fourth steps are clearly political in that they implicitly challenge existing power and resource alignments:

> *(3)* probing deeper with the people into issues of exploitation through moneylending, low prices in the village markets, bribes extracted by officials such as the forest guards; creativity in health care and health education;
>
> *(4)* playing a catalytic role among the women and the community; organization of the women in the *mahila mandals* as a platform for on-going education and united action; helping the community understand the possibilities of tackling marketing and moneylending as systems of exploitation; knowledge of protective legislation and development schemes; creating a new atmosphere among the people of self-confidence and critical understanding of their place in society; collaboration with village animators and adult educators.[11]

An even stronger statement emerges from Latin America:

> Yes, the most important role of the village health worker is preventive. But preventive in the fullest sense, in the sense that he helps put an end to oppressive inequities, in the sense that he helps his people, as individuals and as a community, liberate themselves, not only from outside exploitation and oppression, but from their own short-sightedness, futility and greed... The chief role of the village health worker at his best, is that of

[11] Sara Kaithathara, Community participation in Primary Health Care, *Social Action*, vol. 31, no. 3, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 355-356.

> liberator. This does not mean he is a revolutionary (although he may be pushed into that position). His interest is the welfare of his people.[12]

The issue is not whether PHC is political or non-political. Achieving health for all cannot be anything but political. Professionals in public administration are beginning to recognize this:

> Social development is a political process—its central purpose being to build the power of the powerless. The social development manager is not a value free technician; he or she is inevitably a political actor in this process. Coalition building, reciprocity, compromise and the creative use of crisis are all power tools with which the social development manager is well advised to be familiar.[13]

The real issue centers on whether or not governments and the medical establishment will accept people's active involvement in decision making as a *positive* force rather than a situation to be avoided or actually repressed. As a resident of a Manila squatter community once said to this writer, "Why does the government punish us for demanding jobs, education for our children, land rights, health care, and the like? They accuse us of being against the government, even of being subversives. But we do not want to overthrow the system, like they say. We merely want to get into it—to become a part of it like other Filipinos!"

Obviously, perceived threats to the existing power arrangements perpetuating present elite-oriented health care systems are not easily tolerated by those in charge. Yet leaders truly interested in promoting "progress for all" will recognize that between the two extremes of apathy and violent confrontation lies a broad range of legitimate and effective participatory behaviours that can lead to people's development

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[12] David Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[13] Frances F. Korten, Community participation: a management perspective on obstacles and opinions, in David C. Korten and Felipe B. Alfonso (eds.), *Bureaucracy and the poor, closing the gap*, McGraw-Hill, Singapore, published for the Asian Institute of Management, Manila, 1981, p. 188.

and genuine structural change. This range may include degrees of participation from consultation and harmonious cooperation with the authorities to a kind of militant (but not necessarily violent) confrontation and effective mobilization around issues of concern to the community.

Areas for action

If PHC is to move away from being an incipient global movement, heavy on ideology, advocacy, and pilot projects, but light on implementation and distributive health results, large-scale, all-encompassing programmes will have to permeate the national scene. The key question is, how is this to be accomplished? How can the system be turned around to be responsive to the needs of the unserved or underserved majority? In particular, what measures can outside supporters take to foster people's participation: *(1)* at the community level? *(2)* at the bureaucracy and medical practitioner level? *(3)* at the policy-making levels of government and of the medical establishment? and *(4)* at the international level?

Strengthen community organization and awareness of health issues

Community organizers and awareness building

Communities not already well organized will benefit from the presence of trained community organizers who live in their midst and help conscientize them—that is, make them consciously aware of their life situation, why it is so, and what alternatives they have or can create to redress its deficiencies. A first step is to fund organizers to serve in the communities for a period of one to two years. Where no such organizers are

available, support should go to training programmes to produce them. NGOs or those government extension agencies that have developed successful experimental training programmes can serve as the nuclei for this venture.

Credit and finances

Organized groups will not get very far without access to funds for their activities. While most can mobilize some of their own resources, access to no-interest or low-interest credit schemes on terms compatible with their situation boost participatory grass-root efforts for health or any other aim. Providing a revolving credit fund, even outright grants, therefore, is a desirable action for governments and donor or volunteer agencies to take.

Training in a variety of needed skills

While people know their traditional technologies, occupational skills, and organizational requirements, they also seek to expand these in the light of new demands in society. Men and women can be assisted in formulating training programmes in improved technology appropriate to their needs; in organizational skills that include, for example, leadership, project development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, accounting; and in occupational skills corresponding to present and future local needs as they see them. Information and education on the elements of health care and related issues help community residents define their needs in a broader perspective.

Reduce the constraints imposed by government bureaucracies and medical practitioners

A service rather than a control orientation

Since bureaucracies are created largely for the control function of extending the authority of national leaders over the local level, one can understand why it is difficult to promote

the concept of a service-rendering bureaucracy accountable outward to people as clients rather than inward and upward to supervisors. Most of the administrative procedures in existence have grown out of a "top-down", inflexible orientation and have been sustained by the patronizing, even disparaging attitudes of most bureaucrats toward their poorer clients.

Observers of a PHC scheme which fostered community control over the community health worker encountered the greatest resistance to this from the PHC outreach workers at the lower levels of the bureaucracy. They insisted that, as the bureaucracy personnel in direct contact with the community health workers, they should have formal control over the selection and day-to-day supervision. Defending their position, some insisted: "Control is a must because people are dishonest." "PHC doctors and supervisors must be given powers to evaluate the health workers' work and to deduct their monthly allowance if found negligent." "Without our supervision they will not comply with our demands, as many of them are leader-types."[14]

The mutual dependence between community health workers and PHC bureaucracy outreach workers

> ... ranged from extreme cooperation to open hostility. Hostility was commonly associated with a belief on the part of PHC personnel that the appropriate role of the CHW was to help PHC staff reduce *their* workload, remain present during *their* visits to the village, and help in performing *their* functions and in meeting *their* targets. When CHWs complained about the quantity or quality of PHC services to their community and demanded better performance, this was resisted by such PHC personnel as "leader-type" behavior. Such CHWs were in turn likely to view their PHC counterparts as dishonest and work-shirkers.[15]

Other evidences of bureaucratic inflexibility and patronizing attitudes emerge in conflicts over which agency does what, in sectoral infighting, in continued reliance on output measures

[14] Rushikesh Maru, Organizing for rural health, in David C. Korten and Felipe B. Alfonso, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

for evaluation (like the number of health clinics in existence) instead of impact measures (like the health status over time of women and children in the clinic area), in rigid work schedules incompatible with the people's schedules, in frequent transfers of bureaucracy outreach personnel just when people are getting to know and trust them, and in the continued issuance of prescriptions for medicines unavailable or out of the financial reach of the poor.

Preparation of medical practitioners for community work

Physicians share many of the bureaucrat's biases, coming as they do from urban-based, highly specialized medical schools:

> The problem is that physicians do not want to be assigned to rural areas and do not willingly accept such assignments. Why is this? The reasons given are many: poorly maintained hospitals and dispensaries, insufficient equipment, a chronic shortage of medicaments, "boondock" personnel who have acquired bad habits, small towns offering no recreational amenities, supply difficulties, lack of schools for the children, etc. ... The physician's reluctance is all too understandable, as he has not been prepared either socially or technically for that situation.[16]

To bridge the gaps between physicians and community health workers a Bangladesh doctor with long grass-root experience speaks of the "doctor of delivery" and the "doctor of information". The latter—the physician—has the sophisticated knowledge of what is required for physical health, while the community health worker—the doctor of delivery—is equipped to make this knowledge effective.[17] This division of labour and modus operandi are possible of course only if the medical hierarchy is ready to accept its new partners and allow them to practice their assigned roles.[18] The PHC pro-

[16] M.V.J. Blanc, The physician must help the health worker to be a liberator, Discussion Round Table, *World Health Forum*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1981, p. 54.

[17] Zafrullah Chowdhury, The good health worker will inevitably become a political figure, *ibid.*, p. 55.

[18] Samir Sanad Basta, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

ject mentioned above demonstrated the difficulty of this reorientation. Many medical officers participating in the training programmes stated that they were neither trained nor interested in taking a position that would bring them into direct involvement with local politics.[19]

Clearly, mechanisms have to be found that will encourage bureaucrats and medical practitioners to favour and internalize a participatory approach to health. Exposing medical, nursing, and other health care students to effective PHC projects as part of their regular curriculum and enabling them to interact with and learn from community residents as part of a team can help bring about this conversion. The experience should impress upon them that the physician's role, for example, is that of auxiliary, a specialist called upon by the community health workers for referrals, advice, appropriate medical training, and the 2 to 3 % of illnesses that neither the health workers nor the residents can handle. This relationship tips the skills pyramid on its side and accustoms the budding physician or nurse to it being the health worker who takes the lead, "so that the doctor is on tap and not on top".[20]

Increased accountability to the community

The institutional arrangements at the point where the medical practitioners and bureaucrats interface with the community also need re-examination, especially in terms of bureaucracy responsiveness to grass-root initiatives. Mechanisms of accountability to the community may be devised, such as including people's evaluations of the PHC programme in the bureaucrat-practitioner's performance rating. Turning over the management of basic drugs to local health groups is another case in point. Meetings held at times selected by local groups as most convenient for them tests the flexibility norm.

Such changes will not likely take place solely through verbal

[19] Rushikesh Maru, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[20] David Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

advocacy on the part of reformers inside the bureaucracy or practitioner groups. Rather they will stem from pressures exerted by grass-root constituencies in the context of actual people-bureaucrat communication, as together they painstakingly work out solutions to people-defined problems. The outside team members will then fall closer to the community-supportive pole of the participation continuum, instead of the community-oppressive one that gives lip service to self-reliance and human dignity but which operates in a fundamentally authoritarian, paternalistic, and dependency-creating mode.[21]

Foster at policy-making levels the political will to implement PHC

Policy makers genuinely concerned about the majority poor can be encouraged to rethink the existing health care system when they see facts and figures that testify to its shortcomings or outright failure. An intellectual grasp of the situation, however, is generally insufficient for motivating policy makers to break through the barriers to PHC and create meaningful legislation and new organizational arrangements. Also needed is direct contact with PHC teams and organized community groups. Changing outlooks and introducing needed reforms in the health system require both intellectual and experiential challenges. One effective approach

> ... is to engage the health personnel themselves—from the top planners and managers in the ministry of health to the lower-echelon medical professionals in the field—in a process of self-appraisal and self-education. Small mixed teams of health personnel from the national and regional offices can go out to representative rural areas in the country to investigate the health status of the people, the performance of the government health service in relation to their basic service needs, the functioning of

[21] David Werner, Health care and human dignity—a subjective look at community-based rural health programmes in Latin America, in Susan B. Rifkin (guest ed.), *Health: the human factor—readings in health, development and community participation*, Contact Special Series no. 3, Christian Medical Commission, Geneva, June 1980, p. 94.

> the traditional health system, the amount that villagers spend (or mis-spend) for health care, the opportunities for mobilizing financial and other resources in the village for health care, existing village institutions as possible underpinnings for village-based and -managed health programmes, and so on... The results of the investigation and appraisal can be compared and analyzed to identify and formulate the plan of action at different levels and for different parts of the national health service. It would be as much a process of discovering the facts about the health service and preparing plans for the system's reform, as of re-educating the personnel.[22]

Policy-maker roles also include legislation for more PHC-responsive financing and accounting schemes; for reforms in medical education, conditions of service, financial incentives, and reward systems for health professionals; for some control over the private sector; and for pharmaceutical importation, production, and prescriptions.[23] Restructuring the bureaucracy so that rewards go to those personnel operating effectively at the community level, and decentralizing the power in sectoral ministries and to local authorities for greater responsiveness to grass-root initiatives, can rekindle the spark of credibility in the government and the medical establishment long since abandoned by disenchanted peasants and urban slum dwellers. By rejecting the spurious contention that high participatory consciousness and organizational capability invariably result in violent confrontation or even social revolution—and therefore should not be fostered—enlightened government and health policy makers affirm the contrary assertion—that people's participation and empowerment build a citizenry and strengthen a society. If they deny this and repress grass-root participatory efforts as a trade-off for false stability, it is they to whom history will attribute the accumulation of human frustrations that subsequently explode into revolution.

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[22] Manzoor Ahmed, Community participation, the heart of Primary Health Care, *Assignment Children*, no. 42, UNICEF, Geneva, April-June 1978, p. 90.

[23] Susan Cole-King, Primary Health Care—a look at its current meaning, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Develop at the international level policies leading to a NIEO and strategies favouring PHC

International and bilateral assistance agencies can significantly influence national trends towards adopting PHC by advocating a need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, and ecologically sound development strategy.[24] One concrete approach is specifically to fund participatory processes in country programmes. The success of this endeavour can be ascertained in part by building into evaluation criteria that assess

> ... process and outcomes related to acceptable levels of community participation performance... establish cost-benefits or effectiveness and methods to integrate such evaluation into current or planned monitoring and information systems... Investment dialogues can help to demystify the subject by dealing with it in concrete terms, i.e., defining specific, observable and measurable performance by community members or groups...[25]

Included in the evaluating teams on a project level must be the people of the community themselves, men and women contributing their particular perspectives. The combined views of many communities can then go into the formulation of the next programme phase. This procedure will encourage foreign donors to restrain themselves from imposing preconceived but often inappropriate ideas; to be more flexible about, for example, accounting schemes or implementation schedules; and to avoid the creation of a dependency relationship between those community groups using the funds, on the one hand, and the government as well as international donors, on the other. Again, political will must come strongly into the overall equation.

[24] Göran Sterky, Towards another development in health, in Susan B. Rifkin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[25] Arlene Fonaroff, A proposed operational strategy for integrating community participation into PHN (Population, Health, Nutrition) sector, Internal Working Paper, Draft 3, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1981, p. 32.

Some guidelines for the future

Much more could be said about people's participation in primary health care. Let us content ourselves here with final reflections on eight summary propositions postulating that a community-based health programme:

1. reflects and responds to the political context in which it develops;
2. recognizes that conflict situations are inevitable and develops a strategy to deal with them which is most acceptable in the cultural and social values of the community;
3. does not depend on identifying "felt needs" of the community but rather on developing a process for dialogue between the professionals and people in the community;
4. recognizes the tension between flexibility and replicability and tries, as far as possible, to keep a balance between the two;
5. includes health services but realizes that the provision of services may not be the best entry point for developing community participation in development programmes;
6. recognizes the basis of the programme as an educational process, identifies the process, and establishes training programmes to teach this process;
7. recognizes "self-reliance" as an important objective and, therefore, carefully considers how foreign aid can best be used to promote this objective;
8. seeks to evaluate its success based on the positive change in attitudes and commitment of the community to improve its standard of living.[26]

These propositions may well serve as PHC guidelines for the rest of the century and beyond as people struggle not only toward health for all, but, more broadly, toward human progress and dignity for all.

[26] Susan B. Rifkin, Community participation in health—eight propositions, in Susan B. Rifkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-122.

Current issues

Popular participation in development in Africa

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Can popular participation reasonably be hoped to constitute a decisive element in the future development of Africa? This is one of the essential questions that both Africans and their outside partners are currently asking themselves.

What are the constraints to popular participation in Africa? Jacques Bugnicourt cites the imposition of a simplified model which does not fit the different realities, the top-down organization of participation, the varying cultural responses to participation, the distortion of the concept by governments, the anti-participatory orientation of the educational and administrative systems, past scorn for traditional knowledge, and the heavy burden participation places on the poorest.

He then describes some of the areas for priority attention if popular participation is to become a generalized and effective reality in Africa. A new policy has to be put into effect.

Excerpted from *Popular participation in development in Africa*, ISSP/TP/2, 22 p., paper presented at the International Seminar on Popular Participation, Ljubljana, 17-25 May 1982, organized by the Policies and Resources Planning Division, Department of Technical Cooperation for Development, United Nations.

Some concrete examples of participation in Africa

The term "popular participation" can of course be defined in several ways.

In principle and in practice, "popular participation" is opposed to centralized decision making and to the reduction of rural and urban populations to the role of passive executants. It has, nevertheless, several forms: participation in discussions, participation in decision making (at various levels), in training, in execution, in management, in control, and in education. Participation also varies in intensity—those participating may feel themselves more or less committed, for a shorter or a longer period...

Rather than discuss abstract definitions, it may perhaps be more useful to try to define some cases of popular participation, in order to take its exact measurements.

A water supply for a squatter settlement

In Africa, the taking over of problems of urban development by the inhabitants of poorer areas offers some significant examples of participation.

There is a district in a town in Central Africa that is built on marshy ground and so little recognized by the administration that it used to appear on the town plan as "open space". An interdisciplinary team came to work in the district after consulting with the local leaders and various local groups. The goal of these economists, town planners, geographers, engineers, etc. was, first of all, to listen to the people, who did in fact begin to talk about the problems they thought essential—more particularly, about health problems. "What worries us", said the women, "is that our children grow sick and die". It quickly became obvious that the main cause of this morbidity and mortality was the polluted water. A team was then formed, consisting of outside experts and local inhabitants. The team visited the water works and the municipal council: they found that there was no piped water in the area because, legally speaking, it was not a human settlement and because the funds available had been spent on tarring the roads in the

wealthy quarters. Neither could the authorities say how much a piped water supply would cost.

So, on the basis of a map rapidly drawn up by a geographer from an aerial photograph, the inhabitants went to work. Various alternatives were studied, and those whose houses were close to the future water points were called on for their opinion.

A rough plan for the network was soon established, on the basis of the wishes of the inhabitants and their approach to the problem. But it became clear that there would not be enough money for such heavy costs. The following evening was one of discouragement. By the next morning, however, the inhabitants—who had talked all night—had broken the costs down and now offered to do a large part of the work themselves, including the digging and filling of the ditches. A number of masons were ready to supply their labour free of charge to build the bases for the water taps.

After some explanatory meetings, which included most of the inhabitants of the area, an arrangement was arrived at whereby most of the costs were assumed by the population; lists were drawn up of each one's commitments.

Anxiety about health, irritation over the absence of a drinking water supply, and the slum dwellers' feeling of powerlessness thus gave place to a calm certainty on the part of the people that they were in a position to solve for themselves an important problem of their daily lives. From a situation where, in the dialogue with the authorities, the inhabitants played the role of those receiving aid, the scenario changed to one in which discussion made the technical aspects understandable to all, and where groups of neighbours undertook to contribute their labour or make cash payments to accomplish something for the common good.

Neighbourhood pharmacies and public services instead of eviction

Consider now the case of a slum in a large city in West Africa.

Among the threatening problems that weighed upon its in-

habitants, sickness, on the one hand, and the risk of its demolition—since it was classed as "unauthorized"—on the other, seemed to be the most disquieting. Towards the end of 1980, several families expressed a wish to have access to commonly used medicines. Groups of several persons set up inter-family pharmacies and ran them, without problems, for almost a year.

At that point, the minister of health asked the medical attendants at the public dispensaries "to encourage popular participation in the creation of health committees". In the district in question, the medical attendant at once tried to install a committee of his own cronies. The district's general assembly did not agree: "Since we already have among us neighbours who know about drugs and who have shown for months now that they know what to do, let us appoint them to the committee". This was done and delegates from the family pharmacies were put in charge of the dispensary's stocks. Very soon they protested that there was a certain amount of waste. The medical attendant did his best to get rid of this "intolerable" supervision. But the minister did not back him up. Instead of regarding health as a problem for technicians, and putting up with the continued misappropriation of the drugs, the people took responsibility for it.

Problems of the same kind arose in respect of housing: certain technicians tried to apply to the neighbourhood the broad outlines of the city's master plan, drawn up fifteen years earlier. They agreed, however—and with them the students at the School of Architecture—to the proposal that another method should be tried, and that they should work with the population and with an international non-governmental organization[1] to draw up a plan that would respect most of the housing that was already there. After consultations lasting eight months, a general assembly of the residents approved a plan under which public utilities and services would be installed and roads constructed with a minimum of demolition.

In an unexpected reversal of direction, however, the administrative services suddenly decided to disregard this plan, in

[1] In this case, ENDA, P.O. Box 3370, Dakar.

which they had collaborated, and to adopt a scheme based solely on technical considerations and implying the demolition of at least a quarter of the existing built-up area. A bulldozer was sent in, but, in the face of the feeling aroused among the population by its arrival, knocked down only one building. The people called a new assembly to bring the matter to the attention of the political leaders: "You agreed to discuss this with us, and now you want to impose unilaterally your outdated plan: what are you playing at?" In less than a year, the inhabitants had passed from the stage of anonymous and passive citizens of a city where decisions were made without them to a clear perception of the urban imperatives and of their own possibility of taking part in the decision making.

In a rural area, the recording of local knowledge and kits of traditional and modern drugs

In various African countries, a number of similar examples can be cited in the rural areas.

In the loop of the Niger River, there is a group of villages inhabited by Peuls who are both farmers and herdsmen. One might have expected them to ask for help in drilling wells, improving the pasture lands, or diversifying the fodder crops along the trails. However, that is not what the inhabitants of the area gave priority to; instead, they asked to "make books in their own tongue". When it was explained to them that it was not possible to set up a printing press, they suggested that other procedures should be looked for. In fact, silk-screen printing appeared to be a possible answer to the problem. "Give us", they said, "these simple machines so that our papers can be printed". But the NGO concerned preferred a different approach, and instead provided tools, boards, and silk gauze—as well as sheets of paper—so that the peasants could do the work themselves.

Which they did. They built several silk-screen frames and assembled "printed" pages on these simple machines, making collections of texts to which everyone contributed what he thought was interesting: proverbs, legends, riddles, history, linguistics, agronomy... Everything, from the viewpoint of

modern science, higgledy-piggledy—but in fact a reflection of the complexity and the interactions of real-life situations.

Rather than being satisfied with information and books coming from the capital and the regional centers, rather than remaining passive and waiting for information and books from elsewhere, these Peuls decided that they knew some important things, that this knowledge was their own affair, and that they could, by themselves, respond in part to the expectations of their own group in that field.

There then arose, in the same area, the problem of health. Doctors and nurses were far away, drugs were often out of stock and, when they were available, expensive to buy.

There was some traditional medical knowledge. But for a long time the attitude of the city people had been to liken it to witchcraft and quackery. The peasants wanted to discuss health seriously: they therefore invited a number of renowned traditional healers and the partner organization provided them with a physician. To prepare the meeting, they drew up a list of the principal diseases, in the Peul language, together with their symptoms and the traditional remedies. On the basis of the list, the meeting was to propose either local medications or "modern" drugs, and to determine, for each type of malady, the most suitable and least costly treatment.

Going still further, some of the inhabitants and their neighbours organized health huts, where a simple medical kit was kept together with the most frequently used herbs and pharmaceutical products. Instead of relying on a reinforcement of the centrally organized medical services, the peasants of this area thus got together to find appropriate responses to their most serious medical problems.

An exchange of agricultural know-how for greater food self-sufficiency

Let us turn now to a plateau in southwestern Togo. Export crops have expanded to the best land and henceforward it will be necessary to buy food. The population has discussed the problem and sent delegations to other peasant groups who have recently started expanding food crops again. The people

of the plateau charter trucks for the visit, discuss methods, invite the farmers from nearby to come and give them the benefit of their advice. After a few months, the fields devoted to food crops have expanded considerably. Collective reflection, action decided upon locally, and self-organization have reduced dependence on supplies from outside and partly restored the balance of the agricultural system.

These examples can be multiplied—they are to be found in nearly all the countries. The sequence of events on each occasion is the same: the villagers or the city dwellers analyze the situation jointly and then take action, also jointly. This is rightly called "participation".

Most of the examples uncovered are so convincing that one wonders how it happens that participation has not taken on wider forms, since it seems to go in the direction of true development. But is this really the case?

Arguments for popular participation

Can we go so far as to state that participation constitutes, in actual fact, a precondition for African development? And if so, in what forms?

Need for recourse to human resources

The need for a general recourse to what has been called "human investment" can hardly be doubted. There cannot be enough prefabs for all the schools and all the dispensaries that must be built. Bulldozers are too expensive to be used to clear every track. And engineering and construction firms are not in a position to prepare and carry out the hundreds of irrigation projects required... The choice in many cases is simple: either the people will do a good part of the work or it will not be done at all.

Considering the tremendous amount of underemployment, it is clear that there exists a considerable potential for the mobilization of manpower. There is then a choice between

recruiting it as paid labour, requisitioning it, or encouraging voluntary collaboration. In Africa, the first two solutions have not, in general, produced striking results. Requisitioning, in particular, is still looked at askance by Africans, who are reminded of the forced labour of colonial times.

From an economic viewpoint, one of the main levers of development must surely be the supply of labour that could be made useful—provided the population so wished, provided the aims were chosen and accepted by the people, and provided their mobilization involved genuine participation. Added to this is the fact that many of the results (schools, dispensaries, roads) are in the local interest: the fact that they are built by those who will benefit from them provides a certain guarantee that the work will be well done, and that the future operation and maintenance of the installations or services will be taken care of.

A better use of local possibilities

Another economic aspect further reinforces the argument in favour of participation: since the resources are no longer identified and put into effect by a centralized process, the discovery and exploitation of many unperceived local resources becomes possible. Given generalized participation, multiple local responses to needs appear, without the need for government intervention.

From the social point of view, the presence or absence of popular participation has immediate implications. The imitation of European or American methods and techniques leads to recourse to types of equipment that require specialized personnel and the use of imported parts; these mechanisms presuppose ties between government departments and commercial firms, and lead to profit-making and increasing social differentiation.

The tendency, on the other hand, of rural or urban groups seeking a solution to their problems is most often to share responsibility among many and to maximize collective advantages: the distaste of many African societies for the creation of new forms of inequality is well known. In most cases, participa-

tion has the merit of strengthening the cohesiveness of what are called grass-root groups.[2] Various forms of solidarity thus have an opportunity to reaffirm and consolidate themselves.

Politically, it is true that centralized systems of decision making and execution often seem essential to the existence of newly created states. From this point of view, things must be done according to the decisions of the central power, whether it is democratic or not, and it is the duty of each citizen to obey political instructions and implement directives aimed at bringing about development. This system—which in the abstract no doubt has merit—has not shown itself to be truly effective in Africa in the last two decades.

Therefore, there is every reason to wonder whether generalized participation might not serve as a basis for an alternative system, where decision making and the direct execution of a part of the essential tasks would be assured through the local exercise of power. Instead of a national power effective only on certain issues, with ill-defined and often arbitrary local centers of power, a division of labour could be brought about between the grass-roots and the regional and national levels through which a large part of the local problems could be solved locally. This is—in many countries—envisaged in the constitution—but, from one country to another, translated very differently into fact.

In other words, it seems that many of the people's aspirations and many of their essential needs could be relatively speedily served, if popular participation in development were to become generalized. But in order to do so, serious difficulties still have to be surmounted.

Obstacles to a generalization of popular participation

The reduction of differing realities to a simple abstraction

What must be guarded against, first of all—particularly in matters of popular participation—is reducing differing realities

[2] This term is taken to mean a group of peasants or town dwellers who are aware of a certain common interest and who may be linked by a more or less loose form of organization.

to a simple ambiguous abstraction. The concept of participation and the diversity of specific participatory forms only take on their full significance in relation to the productive forces, the social structures, the ideologies, and the modes of thought of the various regions of Africa.

There are vast areas where the management of the land and other basic resources has remained largely in the hands of the group, and where there are still the original ties, binding individuals one to another and families among themselves, where the "common good" of the village or the district retains a meaning for most of their inhabitants. The nature of the tasks to be accomplished, the reference to a customary solidarity still present to all minds, gives participation a special significance.

Elsewhere, where the influence of the world market is more direct, the "modern" forms of production more dominant, and monetarization more widespread, the most forceful ideology is that of competition and free enterprise. In this context, limited forms of popular participation can be of interest to the most disadvantaged. But the general trend is not to practice it, not to understand it, and, sometimes, to distrust it.

Participation must be situated in relation to these deep socio-economic structures, even if its present importance and its chances in the long term are not unrelated to the ideologies proclaimed by the various political regimes which share the African continent.

To be sure, some forms of active participation have asserted themselves—and still do—in certain places and at certain times. This is the case with the peasant and worker self-management movement in Algeria immediately after independence, the fighter villages organized in Guinea-Bissau according to the principles laid down by Amilcar Cabral, the *animation rurale* in Senegal in the 1960s—in which Mamadou Dia saw "the veritable revolution of the people"—and the Ujamaa villages in Tanzania, established, at the wish of President Nyerere, for peasant participation. This type of more or less socialist-inspired participation had its counterpart, in other parts of the African continent, in efforts of a different inspiration. In the Arab countries, some movements were related to the *Uma*—in other words, the community of the faithful—and

defended community concepts without really succeeding in translating them into action. In a number of countries that had been under British trusteeship, the reference was to "community development": it was as though the types of organization set up by the social workers would be managed without difficulty by village committees truly drawn from the peasantry and expressing their will.

Thus, in most African countries, it has been possible, at one time or another—but rarely continuously—to encourage popular participation. This has resulted, on the one hand, in a great number of highly diversified isolated participatory activities, and on the other, in a number of major projects, some attaining a certain repute.[3]

The pitfalls of government-organized participation

The overall impression one draws from these attempts—through having been in contact with a number of them and even involved in some of them—is that although open or incipient hostility on the part of public authorities towards participatory activities may seriously impede them, government goodwill on the other hand does not suffice for popular participation to unfold on a large scale. In the latter case, the truth is that official support has often resulted in a blossoming of forms of pseudo-participation. Two variants are frequently encountered: the first is the pseudo-cooperative, which sometimes serves as a framework for the entire peasantry of a country, while being in fact an adjunct of the administration and providing an opportunity for a few merchants and notables to exercise power. The second form is that which gives pride of place to the local committee of the party, which is deemed to express democratically the will of the members but which in reality most often reflects hierarchically transmitted impulses.

[3] Whatever their outcome, these projects should be subjected to a systematic analysis. Within the limits of the present paper, however, it would be tedious and not very meaningful to try to review the most significant participatory activities that have taken place in Africa during the last twenty years. It would be interesting, on the other hand, to undertake a comparative study of them, paying particular attention to a correct evaluation of the internal and external factors which played a part in their genesis and evolution.

In assessing the various forms of popular participation in Africa, it is always essential to take into account the economic conditions and the divergencies of interest among social groups. Reference to the formal political framework is not without use, though less of a determinant; a doctrine that is in favour of participation will undoubtedly create more favourable conditions than ideologies which are opposed to it, but it will also enlarge the possibilities for distorting the concept and its practice. In actual fact, it is only by sharing the life of the people and together with them—on the basis of their needs, their aspirations, and of relations of trust forged in the daily struggle of life—that one can determine whether or not a particular activity involves genuine popular participation.

Varying cultural traits

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the greater or lesser degree of participation found in one area or another is determined only by recent social and economic changes and by the penetration of more or less strong ideological currents. The interest of a people in participation and, perhaps, its motivation for achieving it, seem to vary. It would be interesting to bring out the specific cultural traits which encourage or discourage popular participation among the different African peoples.

The indiscriminate application of participatory models

One of the greatest difficulties encountered in connection with popular participation in Africa is that those who support it or who desire to become the partners of grass-root groups tend to be insufficiently informed about the economic and social contexts and to favour the indiscriminate application of participatory models designed at a higher level.

The distortion of the concept of participation

Other obstacles to success and to the expansion of popular participation in development lie in the existence of many experiments wrongly baptized "participation".

Forced participation has known many forms. No doubt in traditional communities there existed forms of participation—particularly those imposed on the lower social orders—which were not all greeted with enthusiasm. Onto these were grafted certain colonial or post-colonial administrative practices, such as the repair of certain roadways or the cleaning of certain neighbourhoods, which were forced labour pure and simple.

Yet the distortion of the concept of participation has been pushed much further. First, it has been used to camouflage all sorts of contributions levied on both town and country dwellers: the arrival of a leading citizen, a speech to the assembled population, acquiescence out of courtesy, and work started without anyone having found out whether the people concerned have really understood what is being asked of them and are volunteering to do it.

This has become the daily reality in a number of so-called participatory institutions. There is an institutional model in which the social worker or *moniteur* in fact does the deciding for the rest of the population. Many of the achievements presented as the result of participation were planned and put into effect quite independently of the people concerned, who were merely asked to contribute a few days' labour. A second type of institutional deviation which is widespread almost throughout Africa is the pseudo-cooperative, whose statutes, internal regulations, and modes of operation are all predetermined, and whose chief officer and treasurer are very often not at all the persons whom the growers or breeders or fishermen would have liked. It would be interesting to examine this sector of pseudo-participation closely.[4]

A third type of participation—referred to earlier—is assumed to be widespread in countries where the structures of a single or predominant political party are particularly power-

[4] During the preparation of this paper, a large number of cases of participation were examined, covering about thirty African states. Except for those which the writer knew personally, it proved impossible from the descriptions available to determine whether they really were cases of participation or whether they were in fact experiments manipulated either by the government authorities or by national or foreign organizations.

ful. In one of the countries responding to this description, experiments were started in urban self-help housing projects; collective building enterprises were set up and the replacement of make-shift homes by new dwellings began. The groups carrying out these operations consisted of volunteers and made their own decisions. The party then gave them a choice: either to allow themselves to be integrated into the political structures or to disappear. "We represent", said the party officials, "the only form of participation that is conceivable, for we are the Party of the People, and no one can claim to participate apart from the people". The self-help construction and the concerted development of these districts stopped shortly afterwards...

The expansion of participation thus suffers, in many countries, from the misuse of the concept and the image it has in the eyes of the population as a result.

The difficulty of expanding traditional forms of participation

A problem of another kind results from the difficulty of expanding "traditional" forms of participation. Peer groups, customary associations of women or young people, *tontines*, etc. constitute types of participation that function smoothly through long usage—though they may in certain cases have been weakened slightly by modern living. One would think it would be easy to enlarge their role and their impact. But no doubt there is hesitation on the part of those concerned to identify these practices with the concept of generalized participation and to extend them to areas that have hitherto been outside their field.

The anti-participatory orientation of educational and administrative systems

There is, however, a much more essential obstacle to generalized participation: namely, the ideas and behaviour inculcated by the educational and administrative systems that have been installed.

Competition, not cooperation and solidarity, in the schools

In nine out of ten schools in Africa today, what the children are taught is not participation but rivalry: the most gifted, or the most hard-working, or the luckiest, keeps his results for himself and the weaker or less fortunate are condemned to elimination along the educational way. What President Nyerere wrote in 1967 is still true: the school system inherited from colonialism "encourages the individualistic and not the cooperative instincts of man" and "reinforces attitudes of inequality".

We are far from the spirit of solidarity of the peer groups in pre-colonial societies, where everyone helped everyone else. The modern school means a rupture of this solidarity both with fellow pupils and, what is more serious, with society and the environment. Neither lessons in civics nor the little work done in groups truly rectify the anti-participatory orientation of the school system. Are not school farms or gardens, for example, often cultivated by the worst students for the teacher's benefit, with all the negative educational values that this implies? Paradoxically, if there is any participation, it is before the school starts to operate, at the time when the village or the district is gathering together the means to obtain a school, in order to provide the children with better opportunities. Then the school functions by breaking these ties without providing any new ones.

Of course, notable attempts have been made to offset this trend: for example, the Ujamaa villages, ruralized education, functional literacy campaigns... Few of the results have been conclusive or capable of generalization, as is shown by the courageous evaluations made by the countries that have tried such experiments. Schools remain, almost everywhere, an education in individualism.

Little interest among administrators in contact with the grass-roots

The administrative system is a prolongation of the anti-participatory attitude of the schools. The hierarchical spirit, bureaucratic tendencies, preference for written communication

and paper work over direct contact (when, in Africa, many important problems are settled by oral debate), the desire for standardization, insufficient personal commitment on the part of public servants—all this contributes to the formation of a real allergy to participation in administrative circles.

In both villages and town districts, government workers seem to believe that by disseminating a particular idea or a particular technique, they will automatically obtain a particular result. They think they can do without a dialogue with the grass-root groups, which in fact would give them access to the inside system of communication, the real place where opinions are formed and shared. Presenting themselves as "specialists", situating themselves in the hierarchical system of "modern" society, the majority of government agents show little appreciation of the experience and knowledge of the people, little awareness of the creative potential of the peasants or slum dwellers, and little ability to examine their behaviour in relation to the majority of the population in town or country.

Not only are many public servants unwilling to live in the country, but they have not been trained to listen to the peasants, to adjust to their rhythm of life and their ways of arriving at decisions, to place themselves really at their service.

A past scorn for "traditional" knowledge

Moreover, a screen of sorts has been erected which fosters an indifference towards participation: this is the stereotype of the peasant or slum dweller as seen by the ruling classes. They entertain serious doubts as to the ability of grass-root groups to understand situations, to analyze them and propose solutions, to translate these into action and to evaluate the results. A certain scorn subsists in regard to "traditional" knowledge and the colonial prejudice against the "savages" encountered in the bush still lives on. There are doubts about the capacity of the most disadvantaged, in terms of intelligence and freedom of action. The technicians think that their science should provide all the answers and many politicians believe it is their responsibility to think for others. Participation can only be promoted where there is a degree of humility on the part of technical experts and political officials.

The encouragement of dependence on the state

In addition, there is an aspect of government's approach to participation that gives cause for concern. This is the way in which a limited government contribution to the construction of a silo, or the digging of a well, will be accompanied by a discourse on the theme: "See now, your troubles are over, the State is helping you." It would be quite a different style to support the same type of project while explaining: "You are disadvantaged in comparison with certain parts of the country; you have completed this project basically by yourselves, and, to the extent that you increase your efforts, you are entitled to more support from the government." In other words, some types of relationships between the government and rural or urban communities can help to demobilize the population, while others can increase both their ability to solve their problems on the spot and their capacity to analyze the overall situation.

It is true that this second hypothesis is difficult to verify, as it is rarely encountered in practice. In general, the administration administers; it does not delegate, it does not negotiate, it does not consider groups of peasants or town dwellers as partners. When it asks for their participation, its aim is the execution of predetermined tasks at the lowest possible cost, or else the alleviation of its own obligations.

The burden of participation the heaviest for the most disadvantaged

This brings up yet another limitation to participation: is it not often used as an alibi to shift the burden of certain responsibilities which the state ought to assume onto the shoulders of the urban or rural poor?

Imitating what takes place in the industrialized countries, people come to look upon the state as the great provider and ask it to provide food, to build houses, to set up and run schools for all... A degree of collusion takes place between certain outside organizations and some privileged groups in Africa to defend the argument that, after all, the peasants and poor town dwellers have only to "participate", that is to say, make themselves the effort needed to secure what the privi-

leged part of the population enjoys free of charge, thanks to public financing.

The criticism of participation becomes even sharper when it is demonstrated that in a village or district, the burden of participation—on the face of it, egalitarian—in fact falls much more heavily on the most deprived than on the more advantaged. Added to this is the danger that social differentiations at the local level may be glossed over and the clashes of interest between social categories minimized in the name of participation.

In addition, unlike parliamentary participation, popular participation, which functions directly, and necessarily on a local scale, can divert attention away from problems of national interest.

Inappropriateness of foreign theories to the African situation

The prospects for popular participation have been rendered even more confused by the incursion into Africa of theories of participation from the East, the Mediterranean, or across the Atlantic. This participationism—often influenced by Christian or Maoist thought—undoubtedly mobilizes much goodwill, but is not exactly suited to the African situation, and leads to distorted interpretations.

The cornerstone of participation: a sharing of power

Thus the difficulties pile up. The example set by those who talk about participation is far from being always conclusive, and it is a long way from fine words to deeds.

In the end, the stumbling block in the way of generalized participation is political: there is a social choice to be made not only by government, but at every level where authority is exercised. If popular participation is to be limited solely to the execution of tasks, it will have little chance of obtaining real and lasting support. If it is accepted that participation should start at the stage of conception and still be in evidence at the stage of supervision, then it is necessary to agree to share certain

elements of power. The extent to which participation genuinely exists in the different African countries depends on the degree of confidence that governments and public servants have in their people.

The priorities for a generalized popular participation

Attention to the methods used in problem solving

Among the possible responses to the question of where to begin, some spring to mind at once. Either one must devote oneself primarily to the satisfaction of the most pressing basic needs, or else one must first reinforce the potential for participation.

Of course, questions must be raised about the style of participatory actions. It is obvious, for example, that there are several ways of ensuring food supplies the year round, of building a school, or of fighting an endemic disease. The main product of an operation will, of course, be granaries to store the harvest, a finished building, or a lower incidence of disease. Yet there is an additional product: the way in which those results were achieved will result in either the reinforcing or the weakening of the capacity of the villagers or townspeople to analyze, to discuss, to decide, and to achieve.

In point of fact, in every development activity undertaken, the question should be raised as to whether the approach taken will, or will not, strengthen the population's sense of responsibility and its capacity for initiative. The end result will depend to a large extent on the response of the grass-root groups to the participatory approach, and on how conducive their situation is to making evaluations and exchanging opinions.

Recognition of and support for traditional systems of communication

It is for this reason that communication at the grass-root level takes on a special importance. Recognizing its fundamental role implies, no doubt, a break with the idea that the

transmission of information, or the demonstration of a technique, automatically engenders a change in the group being addressed, and that one is faced with a stimulus-reaction or transmitter-receiver type of phenomenon. In fact, in most parts of Africa, the extension worker or organizer—even if people are polite to him—has no real audience until he finds his place in the network of human relations. This is made the more true by the fact that, as far as many groups are concerned, messages from the outside do not necessarily have a high degree of credibility: on the contrary, they have only too great an experience of the effects of messages that are erroneous in themselves or dangerous to the survival of the group.

In many areas, the system of inside communication remains very much alive, even if messages from the outside increasingly interfere, so to speak, with exchanges within the village or district and with "traditional" knowledge. Exchanges within the grass-root group, or between neighbouring villages or city districts, carry an emotional charge related to those who transmit the messages, for they are judged on the basis of who they are and what they have done. It is not a question of transferring a store of knowledge from one brain to another, but of developing one's imagination, memory, and ability to communicate.

Support for these systems of inside communication, their reinforcement and extension, opens up new possibilities for those at the grass-root level to grasp their development problems with greater assurance and consistency. A new emphasis on communication at the grass-root level must be one of the priorities in any popular participation policy.

A radical transformation of the methods and content of education and training also demands the greatest attention. Instead of spreading imported scales of values and the lure of the cities, they should prepare for participatory development.

Social development and public services probably the most urgent felt needs

The very logic of free participation in development means, as a consequence, that the direction in which the people will

steer their efforts cannot really be foreseen. It seems likely, however, that, in the majority of the African countries, the population will concentrate on making appreciable improvements in the food and health situations. Identifying risks of food shortages or famine, preserving and distributing food supplies, dealing with cases of malnutrition or undernutrition, readily accessible medical care, environmental hygiene, health education—all these could make rapid progress, given generalized popular participation.

Another field in which popular participation could lead to rapid advances is housing. Formerly, in many African villages, the houses were built by groups of neighbours, as was the mosque or the church; improved systems of self-help construction could respond rapidly to the demand for housing, in both rural and urban areas. It would have the advantage of promoting the use of local skills and materials.

A third field in which popular participation could be decisive is in the extension of the various services from which the population would like to benefit (postal service, telephone, civil registration, etc.). A redistribution of roles could take place among the inhabitants of a city district or a village—the population providing part of the necessary resources, including a share of the wages of the public servants deemed necessary. Participation would thus be seen as a point of reference for local governments, and as a system whereby those concerned would assume responsibility for a major share of their daily problems.

Another particularly important field of application for participation would be the joint management of rural and village land, as well as of urban districts. Upgrading or development plans formulated with the advice of those concerned and relying on their supervision would have a chance of really being translated into action—unlike most of the projects envisaged at present.

In the last analysis, however, it is in the light of the situation in each country, and of the possibilities and limits of each human group considered, that the priorities of popular participation must be defined. To schematize and generalize in this field would be totally inadequate.

Current issues

Participation in economic development

A conceptual framework

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Against the setting of the evolution of development thinking from the early 1950s to this day, Marshall Wolfe raises, in the first part of this paper, three questions: What is development? What is participation? What has been the impact of recent experiences on the interpretation of these two concepts? Popular participation has become a central element in development alternatives.

In the second part, Marshall Wolfe analyzes current issues and dilemmas in theory and practice: (1) *accumulation versus consumption;* (2) *investment, economic growth, planning, and market forces;* (3) *participation and social classes—conflict or consensus;* (4) *the community and other forms of group solidarity;* (5) *bureaucrats and technocrats; and* (6) *culture and choices of a development style.*

In the third part, he proposes a conceptual framework which sets forth the permanence of tensions, first, between the striving for participation and for rationalization, and

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secondly, between different forces, each with internal divisions: (1) *the state, with its political decision makers, bureaucrats, militarists, and social specialists;* (2) *the already organized sectors of the population; and* (3) *the masses hitherto excluded from control over resources and regulative institutions.*

The emergence of participation in development models

The development model of the 1950s

During the 1950s and 1960s an international consensus on "development" took shape, many features of which were endorsed by regimes identifying themselves as socialist as well as capitalist or refusing to accept either label. Development meant rising incomes per capita accompanying structural shifts in national economies from predominantly rural-agricultural to urban-industrial. It required a continual incorporation of productivity-raising technological innovations, and an increasing ability to exploit natural resources and transform the environment.

It assumed that certain industrialized countries identified as "developed" constituted models for what the rest of the world could and should accomplish, and that these countries would be able to sustain indefinitely their interacting processes of rising, diversifying, and innovating production and consumption. It assumed, with many differences of timing and emphasis, that initial phases of income concentration in the hands of entrepreneurs or the state, restraint in consumption, and social services concentrated on the upgrading of "human resources" would lead to phases of increasingly equitable distribution, rising and diversifying consumption for all, and the building up of collective services and subsidies designed to equalize oppor-

tunities and place a floor under levels of living—in other terms, to a "welfare state". It asserted that national states could and should guide and stimulate development through "planning".

It envisaged the initial participation of the masses of the population mainly as producers, through the acquisition of skills and the internalization of the work-ethic of industrial societies, and viewed premature participation as consumers or through organized struggles for a larger share of the national income, as a danger. It foresaw, however, that the very process of development would increasingly involve the masses of the population not only as producers and consumers, but also as citizens capable of reconciling their narrower interests and controlling the developmental activities of the state through democratic political procedures. Development would enhance autonomy at the national level and thus the capacity of peoples to influence its pace and the distribution of its fruits.

Five series of criticisms and a proliferation of "plans of action"

This consensus came under question during the 1960s for several well-known reasons. First, while some "developing" countries achieved creditable rates of increase in national income, the expected benefits seemed no nearer: distribution remained highly unequal and popular resignation to poverty was waning. Second, the concomitants of industrialization and agricultural modernization were proving very disruptive, introducing the prospect that major parts of the population would lose their hold on traditional ways of livelihood and sources of security without finding a place in the emerging new order. Third, international economic and political relationships made developmental achievements precarious. National governments were no more capable than before of foreseeing and controlling the key factors determining the feasibility of policies, in the face of unstable export commodity markets, rising debt burdens, recurrent balance of payments crises, the penetration of transnational enterprises, and the distribution of public resources on the basis of the strength of claimants (particularly the military) rather than of development

priorities. "Planning", in the shape of preparation of fixed-term "development plans" at least, fell into discredit. Fourth, the real course of economic growth and modernization began to have a devastating impact on the endowment of natural resources and on the physical environment, particularly in the enormous urban agglomerations that were taking shape. Fifth, the industrialized countries were beginning to lose their plausibility as models, partly because of the exposure of their exploitative relations with the rest of the world, and partly because of the spread of internal disillusionment with the consequences of their technological and cultural transformations, even before their quarter century of sustained economic growth and rising levels of consumption came to a halt in chronic stagflation.

One consequence was an extraordinary proliferation of prescriptions, research efforts, and "Plans of Action" seeking to redefine development or find the missing ingredient whose lack prevented observable development processes from fulfilling their original promise. Practitioners of the social sciences other than economics challenged the dominance of the latter discipline, and embarked on inconclusive interdisciplinary quests for a solution.

By the 1970s, emergence of two opposed development models

By the early 1970s two diametrically opposed conceptions of development and the way to achieve it seemed to be emerging. The first was far from internal consistency, since it represented a wide range of quests for synthesis based on the socially oriented criticisms of "economic development", from utopian blueprints for egalitarian new civilizations to relatively cautious proposals seeking within real political and economic constraints to assign a higher priority to the satisfaction of basic needs, the protection of the environment, the reconciliation of economic transformation with differing cultural values, etc. In any case, the area of consensus included the legitimacy of differing national styles of development incorporating

values of equity, human solidarity, and creativity, and the affirmation of popular participation as a central element in the quest for national styles incorporating these values.[1]

The other conception reaffirmed the economic Kingdom of Necessity: state intervention through planning, regulation, and the building up of a large public sector hindered rather than helped economic development. State efforts to redistribute incomes, protect the population from all contingencies, and provide elaborate services were self-defeating. The market and the law of comparative advantages should determine the allocation of resources; the state should limit itself to safeguarding the rules of the game, making it possible for the market to function efficiently.

In the 1980s, widespread crises

We are now in the early 1980s. While all of the previous conceptions and prescriptions for development remain current, their promotion having become institutionalized, the international setting for the debate has changed markedly. The salient feature is that the great majority of countries, whatever their previous style or strategy of development, are in complex difficulties. The prospect for their emerging from these difficulties through any coherent strategy decided upon and applied by the state seems less plausible than at any time since the 1940s. The perplexities of the central industrialized countries are becoming chronic and in many respects resemble weaknesses for which their development ideologists previously reproached the "poor" countries. Their will and ability to pro-

[1] The most readily accessible of the numerous sources of information on the quest for development so conceived are the periodicals *Development Dialogue*, published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, and IFDA *Dossier*, published by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, Nyon, Switzerland. See also *The quest for a unified approach to development*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, 1980, iii-180 p., and Marshall Wolfe, *Elusive development*, jointly published by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and the Economic Commission for Latin America, UNRISD Report 80.03, Statistical Publishing House, Budapest, 1981, 265 p.

mote the development of the rest of the world continue to erode, and their exportation of some of the costs of their crises continually disrupts development prospects elsewhere.

The few national societies whose dominant forces have aimed at "another development" along the lines of the first conception described above have encountered more frustrations than successes. The same can be said of the societies whose dominant forces abjured the welfare state and hoped to invigorate their economies by freeing market forces. Regimes trying to follow both paths, as well as those clinging to more conventional development policies, are plagued by unmanageable indebtedness deriving from the "easy money" period of the early 1970s, and are now more concerned with short-term crisis management expedients than with long-term development strategies. While the shortcomings of "development" from the standpoint of human welfare and equity are even more pronounced than in the early 1970s and real events have justified the warnings then put forward, the proposals for coherent development alternatives risk falling out of attention, or into a rut of ritual repetition, through the very severity and complexity of present challenges.

Popular participation, a central element in development alternatives

The term "popular participation", as was stated above, sums up a central element in these proposals. Three questions present themselves: If international consensus on the meaning and requisites for development disintegrates, how are peoples to participate in it? Can national societies—the "people"—reinvent development in terms corresponding to their own needs and capabilities? Have the kinds of participation that have already emerged, shaped by the style of development now in crisis, generated a momentum of expectations and group tactics that will be incompatible with participation in radically different styles of development?

What is popular participation?

One's conception of participation can be broad or narrow, active or passive. It can be considered equivalent to political democracy: the people decide, through constitutionally codified procedures of election or referendum, what development objectives and policies they want, and what political representatives shall try to convert the objectives and policies into reality. It can be considered equivalent to involvement in the processes of societal change and growth that the term "development" suggests. In this sense, everyone participates, voluntarily or not, advantageously or disadvantageously, exploiting or exploited, except minorities so isolated and self-sufficient that the process does not touch them—by now a minute proportion of the world's population. A resolution calling for "participation of all sectors of the society", then, would really have in mind a transformation of participation, making it more advantageous to the majority of participants and more conducive to a "perceived advance toward specified ends based on societal values".[2]

In the early 1970s, the "unified approach" project carried out by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and the Economic Commission for Latin America singled out "participation" as one of the central areas of choice for a style of development meeting the minimum criterion of acceptability and viability. In this it coincided with most other proposals for "another development", but its treatment of participation has a somewhat different emphasis. Since this treatment touches on most of the conceptual issues that will be explored in the following pages, it will be worthwhile to quote it at some length.

> *Participation* is one of the most complex as well as basic areas of choice. It raises the questions—very hard for political leaders and planners to face frankly—of *who* is doing the choosing, *how* choices are enforced, and *whether* the style of development treats participation mainly as a means or mainly as an end, an essential component of the style. When participation is willed from above it becomes mobilization, a means of getting things done. When it

[2] *The quest for a unified approach to development, op. cit.*, p. 9.

arises from below it usually focusses on distribution, becoming also a means, from the standpoint of the groups able to participate, of obtaining a larger immediate share of the fruits of development.

Authentic participation, heightening the participants' awareness of values, issues, and the possibility of making choices, influencing the content of development, generating new ways of doing things, and also safeguarding the participants' right to an equitable share in the fruits of development, remains an elusive aspiration—but the conversion of this aspiration into reality may well in the end prove the central requisite for a style of development enabling a society to function over the long term for the well-being of its members.

... "Participation", like "planning", is sometimes treated as a mystical entity that will resolve all problems once rightly conceived and applied. It is significant that evaluations of existing political processes of participation are generally negative. They are associated with the phenomenon of the "soft state", corruption, allocation of resources according to the strength of political pressures, inability to maintain a consistent strategic orientation, and continual promises that the system cannot honour.

From the standpoint of many development analysts and planners, "politics" is bad, "participation" good. Participation is then viewed as a substitute for existing political processes, as consisting in an orderly procedure through which the competing social forces and interest groups can be educated to present more rational and manageable demands and persuaded to internalize the demands the development process will make on them.

The following propositions are relevant:
(i) Authentic participation usually requires a redistribution of power;
(ii) Participation cannot be inserted as a "missing ingredient" into most current real styles of development. The style itself must change, both as a result of new forms of participation and as a condition for such participation;
(iii) The functioning of mechanisms for participation (political movements, trade unions, co-operatives, community councils, youth clubs, etc.) depends on the settings in which they appear (or into which they are inserted)...;
(iv) The higher the proportion of the population in situations of poverty and marginality, the more traumatic will be the changes in the style of development requisite for their authentic participation, and the more difficult will it be for external agents—whether

or not representing the state—to undertake relevant catalytic roles;

(v) The more important forms of organized participation (other than voting and political party affiliation) open to disadvantaged social groups in the past have derived from their relationship to the means of production and their clash of interests with social classes controlling the means of production: wage earners against employers, peasants against landlords.

Conflictive participation of this kind has obviously not lost its importance, but in many countries today the most disadvantaged social groups—and the most rapidly growing—are "marginal", having only tenuous relations to production, and do not confront any readily identifiable target for demands other than the state itself. They identify themselves as would-be consumers (of educational and health services as well as food and shelter) more than as producers and earners of income from defined occupations. Trade unions are irrelevant to their needs, and approaches such as workers' management even more so. Their real capacities as consumers are also usually too low to allow scope for organizational forms such as co-operatives that in other settings have functioned as instruments for defence of consumer interests.[3]

A more recent definition proposed by UNRISD's Popular Participation Programme singles out as the central issue "unequal distribution of power". It proposes as an operational definition for participation that rules out evasion of this central issue, "the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control".[4]

This definition is designed for a specific kind of action-research programme in which the researchers place themselves on the side of the "hitherto excluded" and aim to collaborate with them in shaping more effective tactics to "increase control over resources and regulative institutions".

[3] *The quest for a unified approach to development, op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

[4] Andrew Pearse and Matthias Stiefel, *Inquiry into participation: a research approach*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Popular Participation Programme, UNRISD/79/C.14, Geneva, May 1979, pp. 5 and 8.

Current issues and dilemmas

The present paper accepts the UNRISD definition as the most promising starting point toward making the theme manageable and keeping attention on the central issue of power, but attention will be given also to the role of the state, and to the participation of "all sectors of the society". Thus, this discussion of conceptual issues will have to cast its net more widely, considering the compatibility of different forms of participation with different kinds of national society, juxtaposing the choices open to the "hitherto excluded" with the choices open to the "included" and to the state itself, these last depending on the character and ideology of the forces that dominate the state, the resources it can command, the internal and external change processes it confronts, and the increasingly stormy perspectives for the future. The underlying questions are: How do styles of development emerge and whose interests do they serve? To what extent does the state have the right and capacity to interpret participation as mobilization for the ends its dominant ideology defines as urgent? Does popular participation include a popular right of self-defense against the style of development? To what extent does the state have the duty to protect or tolerate participatory movements it does not control?

1. Accumulation versus consumption

The central proposition of the original consensus on development, that capital must be accumulated and invested so as to raise future production capacity and that this requires restraint in current consumption, remains compelling, although it has undergone so many reinterpretations and amendments that its operational implications are far from clear. It has, for example, been demonstrated that in countries in which much of the population lives in extreme poverty, raising the level of consumption of basic goods and services is a requisite for raising production; that public expenditures on

education and health are investments in "human capital"; and that in economies relying for industrialization on private entrepreneurs and investors, the growth of an internal market for manufactured consumer goods is an essential feature of "development".

These arguments suppose, however, that increases in consumption will flow (or be channelled by the state) in directions conducive to higher productivity and in amounts compatible with accelerated capital accumulation, and that non-essential "luxury" consumption will be concentrated as a stimulus towards minorities that will also invest part of their incomes.

Ideally, organized participation by the majority of the population might be compatible with these arguments, to the extent to which this majority believes that present sacrifices are equitably distributed, that the kinds of "basic" consumption and collective services that become available correspond to its most urgent wants, and that present restraint will be rewarded by future gains.

Unfortunately, the majority has had no good reason to believe these things, and the cultural and political changes involved in the real processes of "development" in widely differing national societies have supported their skepticism. Almost everywhere "development", assessed by the conventional indicator of rising product per capita, has been accompanied by widening gaps between the levels of consumption of different strata. Access to the fruits of development, in the form of services provided by the state as well as incomes, has been determined largely by the initial distribution of power. Neither the private sector nor the state has shown consistent ability and will to make developmental use of the resources withheld from mass consumption.

The variants of capitalist development in the poorer peripheral countries have manifested additional deviations from the ideal, that derive from their economic and cultural dependence on the richer central countries. The beneficiaries of such development in the former countries have adopted as their right the consumption standards of the rich countries and have commonly also diverted much of their accumulation to these countries for safe-keeping. Even in the countries committed

to non-capitalist styles of development, the dominant bureaucratic elites have commonly taken to levels of consumption out of keeping with the austerity expected of the rest of the population. With the nearly universal trends of dependent modernization and urbanization, and in particular the penetration of modern mass communication media controlled by transnational enterprises, similar consumption aspirations have spread to much wider middle strata, and, according to recent evidence, to a surprising extent to the low-income strata, diverting their meagre resources from food, shelter and other "basic needs".[5] As recent controversies over the promotion of manufactured infant formulas and prescription drugs have shown, no group is too poor to be a valued market for some "modern" products.

Under these circumstances, it is natural that participatory struggles have focused on distribution, and to the extent that the majority has been able to enter into them, they have proved incompatible with the accumulation of capital needed for economic growth—particularly within systems in which recipients of the lion's share of resources devote a high proportion to ends that are irrelevant or worse to development. At the level of individuals, consumer credit for purchases of durable goods has prevailed over savings, and at the national level, particularly during the 1970s, borrowing from banks in the central countries has been substituted for domestic accumulation.

Raúl Prebisch has singled out, as the central factor in the "crisis of peripheral capitalism", its incompatibility with democratization focused on distribution, channelled through trade unions and populist political movements. Periodically, the progress of such democratization endangers the surplus that is divided between investment and the "privileged consumption" of the wealthy. The result is hyperinflation, economic stagnation, and eventually the entry of military force

[5] See Carlos Filgueira, Acerca del consumo en los nuevos modelos latinoamericanos, *Revista de la CEPAL*, núm. 15, Diciembre de 1981. Filgueira raises the question whether, in view of the consumption appeals now dominating the Latin American lower-income strata through the mass media, increments in their income would bring about improvements in their diet and other "basic needs".

to reverse democratization, depress the incomes of the majority, and restore the surplus.[6]

The real identification of organized popular participation with the distributive struggle, the precarious ability of the needier strata to engage in this struggle without encountering repression or bringing the style of development to an impasse, and the superimposition of the modern consumer society on the distributive struggle bring the argument back to several questions concerning the rights and the capacity of the state: Under what circumstances can the state control the process of accumulation and, above all, the developmental investment of the accumulated resources sufficiently to justify it in convincing or compelling popular organizations to restrain their struggle for a larger share? Can the state be expected to move in this direction in the absence of a prior transformation in societal values as well as a distribution of political and economic power? Is the state justified in a frontal attack on the internationally transmitted consumer society, by penalizing conspicuous consumption and by controlling the mass media, in order to reduce the incompatibility between popular demands and accumulation requirements?

In general terms, it can be affirmed that consumerism hinders the development of organized popular participation with realistic priorities, but that it is dangerous or self-defeating for reformers and planners to assume that they know the real needs of the masses better than the masses themselves. Austerity is no more an end in itself than diversified consumption, and modernization introduces many goods that, on balance, raise the quality of life and can be widely distributed without undue distortion of the distribution of national and family expenditures. It must be kept in mind that among the central items of consumer demand are two of the most powerful instruments for informed participation as well as the fur-

[6] Raúl Prebisch, Crítica al capitalismo periférico, *Revista de la CEPAL*, núm. 1, 1976; *id.*, Estructura socio-económica y crisis del sistema, *ibid.*, núm. 6, 1978; *id.*, Hacia una teoría de la transformación, *ibid.*, núm. 10, 1980. Prebisch proposes "socialization of the surplus" and state planning of its developmental uses as the only acceptable solution for the periodic crisis and resulting repression, but does not indicate how organized popular participation can be reconciled to this solution.

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ther penetration of consumerism—the transistor radio and television. Is the family that skimps on food to have access to these means of broadening its horizons really to be blamed? Should the state try to shield it from the temptation?

2. Investment and economic growth: planning, participatory planning, and the market

The policy consequences drawn by different theorists from the original consensus on development are much too diverse to be discussed here, but most of them had in common the supposition that a nation's political leadership had the responsibility of deciding on development objectives and the planners of showing it how to reach the objectives. This assumed that the political leadership would choose objectives compatible with real national capabilities and with the international consensus on development.

Under such a conception, "participation" should ideally consist of the education of the relevant actors (investors, entrepreneurs, public functionaries, workers, etc.) on the roles they were to play in the plan and the desirability of their conforming to these roles. The interests in development of all the actors were assumed to be basically harmonious. Since there could be only one optimal path to development, to be decided on by the political leadership on the planners' advice, conflictive participation, organized self-defense against the requirements of planned development, could only be harmful to the general welfare.

Such a conception of planned development, somewhat caricatured here, could not survive the lessons of experience. The planners could never count on sufficient information concerning the economies and societies for which they were trying to plan. Their rationalism could not cope with real political processes and the functioning of bureaucratic institutions. They could not convince the potential investors and entrepreneurs to follow their directives. Before long, the faith of governments and the public in comprehensive fixed-term plans

dwindled, although planning agencies continue to produce such plans.

Planning, or more broadly the formulation of development policy, thus moved perforce toward the recognition of uncertainty and conflict. Some governments set up elaborate consultative mechanisms to bring about interaction between planners, representative bodies, and organized interest groups, but these generally functioned erratically.

The formulation of policy did, in a sense, become more participatory but not more unified as the groups able to make themselves heard became more diverse and urbanization brought a larger share of the population into complex contacts with the state. The machinery of the state also became much more complex: regulating, investing, and service-providing agencies established links with different clienteles and represented their interests, bound up with the growth of the agency itself, before the central political leadership. The supposition remained that the state could promote development, and had the duty to put forward a coherent image of the style of development the country should aim at, but the constraints imposed by the distribution of power and by the momentum of what had been done already became more apparent; except in revolutionary crises the state could make only marginal changes in the distribution of resources. If the system became too costly in terms of the size and diversity of groups able to enforce demands on it, the outcome, as indicated above, was likely to be a reassertion of the power of minorities and a reinforced exclusion of the majority.

During the long period of sustained economic growth from the 1950s to the early 1970s it could plausibly be argued that growth itself would, however slowly and erratically, eventually lead to styles of development more compatible with the internationally accepted objectives of development. The rich would simply have to tolerate somewhat slower growth in their disposable incomes so as to provide resources that the state could use to eliminate critical poverty and improve the quality of life.[7] A similar reasoning would apply to the relations be-

[7] This line of argument has been particularly prominent in documents of the

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tween rich countries and poor countries. The exploited and excluded groups would see a hope of improving their lot short of a violent overthrow of the whole system and dispossession of the rich, and would "participate" realistically, in productive and self-help activities as well as in consumption.

Faltering economies and rising political violence

The recent years of faltering economies and rising political violence have shaken this optimistic expectation and, as was stated above, forced many states back into short-term "crisis management" policies with no clear developmental perspective. Two ideological reactions have been described: first, the proposals for radically different egalitarian and participatory styles of development; second, the economic liberal reversion to the market as arbiter of the allocation of resources. The implications of the first reaction, with its apparently contradictory requirements for decentralized initiative and rapid transformation of complex societies governed by universalistic norms, is discussed in various contexts throughout the present paper. At this point, something must be said about the implications of the second for participation.

These implications are relatively simple. Private initiative is to be relied on to replace services previously provided by the state, to the extent that these are worthwhile, and this implies that the disadvantaged strata may be encouraged to provide their own services through organized self-help—as long as this does not lead to their accumulation of power to press the state to finance the services.

It is evident that after an extended period during which the state has amplified its responsibilities, while a widening range of interest groups have competed vigourously to obtain funds

Economic Commission for Latin America since the 1960s. It has been demonstrated that most Latin American countries have already achieved a level of per capita income and a state administrative capacity enabling them to eliminate extreme poverty and universalize basic social services through a moderate redistribution—if the dominant forces could be convinced of the necessity. See, for example, Enrique V. Iglesias, Desarrollo y equidad: el desafío de los años ochenta, *Revista de la CEPAL*, núm. 15, Diciembre de 1981.

or services from the state and have come to depend on a framework of state regulation, the application of a non-interventionist policy of this kind will require an authoritarian state to resist pressures, dismantle incompatible forms of participation, and maintain its ideologists' conception of the rules of the game. It can also be expected that the interplay of interest-group pressures and state economic interventions will re-enter, if only to rescue the more powerful interests from the consequences of miscalculations in taking advantage of economic freedom, but that participation will take place within narrower circles and be shielded from open political competition. An important question for present purposes is whether the disadvantaged groups can retain a minimal capacity to defend their interests and later re-emerge with viable alternative policies.[8]

3. Participation and social classes: conflict or consensus in societal change?

Except possibly for self-sufficient "primitive" communities, societies are divided into classes with different relations to the means of production, and in most national societies other sources of self-identification complicate or cross-cut these divisions: language, religion, family, tribe, locality, political affiliation, etc.

For present purposes, policy-oriented perceptions of these divisions can be divided into four broad categories, with very different consequences for the role of participation. (At the same time, within the real processes of national policy formulation, it is common to find the four categories of perceptions entering in incongruous combinations.)

[8] One of the sub-debates in the UNRISD Popular Participation Programme focuses on this question. In relation to Latin America, see Manuel Barrera, El sindicato bajo condiciones de autoritarismo político y/o crisis económica prolongada, *Diálogo sobre participación, 2*, Instituto de Investigaciones de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo Social, Programa de Participación Popular, UNRISD/82/C.6, Ginebra, Abril de 1982.

Model 1
Sharing of common interests by all population groups

First, some assume that all classes and interest groups share an overriding common interest in "development" within which conflicts of immediate interests can be reconciled. The political leadership should formulate development objectives that are in the interest of the whole population, and convince the whole population that this is the case. Participation can then become predominantly harmonious and cooperative, designed to enable each group to make a maximum contribution to the general welfare.

Model 2
Conflictive participation with the state as arbiter

Second, some assume that the common interest in development does not preclude conflicts of interests in which each group has a right to organized defense of its perceived needs, and will suffer exploitation or discrimination if it does not defend itself. Conflictive participation is thus a legitimate part of development, insuring against undue concentration of its fruits. The right to self-defensive participation extends not only to wage earners and peasants but also to ethnic, cultural, or tribal minorities that are otherwise likely to be disrupted or super-exploited in the course of economic growth, and women striving to overcome their traditional disadvantages. Under this conception, conflictive participation is compatible with the more conventional objectives of development as long as neither is pursued in excess. It supposes that maximization of capital accumulation and growth of the national income do not deserve absolute priority. It also supposes that the state can act and be accepted as final arbiter of most conflicts, keeping them within limits and defining the rules of the game. The state has the duty to help the weaker groups in the national community, by promoting their organization and by legal or administrative guarantees of rights. Reliance on the leading role of the state is conditional: the state can function for the general welfare only if the different classes and groups are able to call it to account

and defend themselves against bureaucratic arrogance, corruption, and bungling.

Model 3
Equitable distribution of resources through revolutionary transformation

Third, some assume that conflicts of interests between classes within a capitalist order are irreconcilable, whatever the degree of economic growth possible within this order, and that in any case the insertion of "peripheral capitalism" within an imperialist world order rules out anything more than a caricature of development benefiting only a few exploiters. The path to authentic development then lies through a revolution bringing to power a class or alliance of classes capable of transforming social relationships and using the forces of production that modern technology makes available for the benefit of all. From this viewpoint, significant participation will consist of organized struggles leading up to the transformation. Organized self-help or self-defense within such a style can be either a means of training the participants for the more significant struggle, or a means of inducing conformism with exploitation, depending on the forces taking the lead. Since the conflict is both national and international in scope, the participatory movement must be organized at these levels.

After the revolutionary transformation, of course, most variants of this conception call for a reversal of the role of participation to something superficially similar to the first conception described above. Participation must become mainly positive, focused on the raising of productivity and the defense of the new order. Conflictive participation remains legitimate only in relation to the survival of the old order, including the bureaucratic heritage, and against external enemies. This viewpoint, of course, has been continually challenged by another that emphasizes the post-revolutionary danger of excessive state power manipulated by a "new class" of functionaries, and calls for the strengthening of autonomous popular organizations and local self-government as indispensable safeguards.

Model 4
Participation for higher productivity in a free market

Fourth, the role of participation can be judged from the economic liberal point of view described above. Conflicts deriving from class divisions may be real but are not legitimate. Participation should be "positive", directed to higher productivity, but individual choices guided by the market can be relied on to generate it. Combinations for self-help are legitimate, but combinations for self-defense are, at best, suspect. The only duty of the state is to keep combinations from accumulating enough power to hinder the functioning of the market.

4. Participation, the "community", and other forms of group solidarity

At this point, conceptions of the role of participation and strategies to "popularize" participation depend on theories and empirical observation concerning the ways in which different classes within national societies organize themselves and the implications of overall economic, cultural, and political change for spontaneous or induced changes in such organizational forms.

One can envisage "plebiscitary" participation through a populist movement given shape by charismatic leadership, with the masses of the population exhorted and instructed on how to participate through the mass communication media, and with localized formal organization rudimentary or absent. It can readily be agreed, however, that this kind of participation has more shortcomings than virtues in relation to the quest for acceptable and viable styles of development.

The shortcomings of the community development movement

During the 1950s, the community development movement assumed the presence of internally harmonious local communities with sufficient autonomy to be able to act collectively in pursuit of their own interests, with a certain amount of technical and material aid and guidance from outside. Social

theorists who saw the communities as seeds of a new society could join forces with planners who saw community development programmes as a relatively inexpensive means of raising agricultural production and rural levels of living, while the development effort concentrated on industrialization. Somewhat later, attempts were made to apply "community development" principles in urban low-income neighbourhoods, but here expectations were relatively modest; aided self-help in housing, community services, and domestic industries might enable the poor to live a little better.

The achievements of practically all of the programmes fell below their initial promise for many reasons, including the substitution of bureaucratic compulsion for authentic community initiative under the pressure of national targets, the inapplicability of many of the technical solutions offered to communities, and the inability of many of the community-level workers to transmit them effectively. The most general shortcoming, however, seems to have been a failure to recognize the divisions of interests within communities and the constraints imposed on their autonomous action by local and national power structures. Consequently, supposedly egalitarian initiatives ended by increasing the differential advantages of the richer and more "progressive" community members at the expense of the unpaid labour of the weaker members; brought into the open latent conflicts that rendered the programme inoperable; or alarmed the landlords, money lenders, or other power holders sufficiently to motivate them to sabotage the programme.

The disruption of traditional community organization

During the past three decades, the real processes of "development" and modernization have disrupted traditional community organization and sources of livelihood to such an extent that the original suppositions behind the programmes have become less plausible, although in a good many settings peasant ways of life and local solidarity have shown unexpected resilience. Social differentiation has become more complex. With agricultural modernization and increasing dependence on export markets, while a mass of small-holding

peasants has persisted under severe disadvantages and been forced into changing expedients to obtain a minimum livelihood, one finds growing numbers of commercial farmers emerging from the better-off peasants, skilled workers and technicians in agribusinesses, commercial intermediaries, and underemployed landless labourers. Almost everywhere, much of the rural population is in movement.[9] Migrations link newer and older zones of settlement, rural and urban areas, and even different countries. The mass media (particularly the transistor radio), the increasingly obtrusive regulatory and servicing agents of the state, and the increasing dominance of national markets and manufactured consumer goods generate new attitudes and settings for organization.

In the urban agglomerations, the scale and rapidity of increases in size bring unprecedented conditions, both for the state's efforts at control and for the efforts of different classes and groups to form organizational ties. In very simplified terms, one can distinguish: first, the organized workers in modern enterprises—the so-called "formal sector"; second, the more numerous families surviving by a wide range of poorly understood expedients, sometimes self-employed, sometimes working for wages, sometimes subsisting through mechanisms of mutual aid, unorganized or organized in relation to issues other than livelihood, as in neighbourhood groupings—the so-called "informal sector"; third, the "middle strata", ranging from professionals to white-collar employees and petty vendors, with a mass of "educated unemployed" at the fringe, simultaneously a cause and an effect of educational expansion and modernization of consumption.

Emergence of new forms of solidarity and prevalence of inter-group conflict

These trends do not necessarily mean that anomie is triumphing in the cities nor that organized participation is receding from the capabilities of the more disadvantaged strata. Rather,

[9] See *Las transformaciones rurales en América Latina: ¿Desarrollo social o marginación?, Cuadernos de la* CEPAL, núm. 26, 1979.

new forms of solidarity are continually replacing the old, in ways that anthropologists and sociologists are studying without reaching firm conclusions—largely because the organizational forms and tactics, along with recruitment to the different groups and their awareness of common interests, promise to continue to change, probably even more variously than in the recent past. A few years ago, for example, the present importance of religious ties and organizations in transforming the consciousness of disadvantaged groups and helping them to maintain self-defensive solidarity under difficult conditions of repression could hardly have been expected. Neither could the prominence of womens' interests as a basis for organization.

Seeds of exclusion in all forms of organization

In any case, the overall trends suggest that conflict will continue to be more prevalent than inter-group cooperation. Under conditions of scarcity, all forms of organization contain seeds of exclusion and discrimination, even if they profess egalitarian ideologies. Land-holding peasants and cooperatives associated with agrarian reforms exploit or exclude landless workers. Trade unions or self-managed industries guard their advantages against the unemployed. The educated middle strata use their differential access to public services to increase their relative advantages and through "credentialism" exclude the less-educated from preferred areas of employment. Meanwhile, population increase and spatial mobility bring different groups into increasingly conflictive contact. Tribal minorities continue to be pushed off their land, often by settlers as poor as themselves manipulated by land speculators and agribusinesses. Migrants competing for jobs incur the hostility of the groups previously on the scene.

Need for thorough understanding of changing forms of participation

One can conclude that policy approaches to participation, whether by the state or by voluntary agencies professing participatory values, should base their actions on a thorough understanding of the changing forms and consequences of par-

ticipation in settings of scarcity and group conflict. However, this is a desideratum rather than a practical recommendation. It leads us to a consideration of the agents of the state in relation to participation, and the constraints upon their knowledge, interpretations, and actions.

5. Participation, bureaucrats, and technocrats

The national societies in which the issues of development and participation have come to the forefront of attention have simultaneously been undergoing processes of bureaucratization and a somewhat later technification of parts of their bureaucracies.

At best, even if the bureaucracy is efficient, goal-oriented and honest, tension between bureaucracy and participation seems to be unavoidable, and it is unrealistic to expect the tension to be resolved in favour of one side or the other. The state cannot help relying on uniform norms and standards, in the quest for equity and efficiency in the distribution of its resources and in combatting the arbitrary violation of human rights by local power holders. The local group cannot help resenting and resisting the resulting restrictions on its initiative, the time-consuming and baffling efforts that are necessary to cope with requirements that do not take local conditions into account. Programmes whose main overt justification is the stimulation of local participatory initiatives are as susceptible to bureaucratization and standardization as any others, as the fate of many community development programmes has demonstrated.

One might envisage the alternative of a "withering away" of the state and its replacement by completely autonomous community action, with all members of the community (or enterprise) sharing in decision making and administration. In the present world of complex societies, however, this utopia is out of reach. It seems preferable to accept the tension and to propose "creative resistance" as a conceptual framework for the conflictive interplay of bureaucracy and participation.

Technocracy, or techno-bureaucracy, poses somewhat dif-

ferent problems for participation. While the traditional bureaucrat relies on norms and precedents, tending to stifle participation in red tape, the technocrat may be highly innovative but also more manipulative than the bureaucrat. For present purposes, a "technocrat" means a person who advises on public policy or directs a programme, or who aspires to do so, on the basis of specialized knowledge and expertise; the term includes professional planners and a wide range of "experts". Technocrats have aspired to more autonomous roles in policy making than have bureaucrats, at least openly, and as far as possible have separated their status and rewards from those of the remainder of the public administration.

The main tension between technocracy and participation lies in the confidence of the technocrat that his professional tools qualify him to find the One Right Answer to development problems. Thus, legitimate participation by other forces in the society must consist of learning the implications of the Answer and acting accordingly. Economists in techno-bureaucratic roles have been accused of a propensity to subject their societies to a rigid application of measures based on theories, which can never be disproved by failure since their proponents can argue that the prescription has not been applied long enough or consistently enough. Engineers, who probably have had a more effective influence on the allocation of public resources than economists, have been accused of a bias toward large-scale technically advanced investment projects, unnecessarily costly and disruptive of the environment as well as of people's lifestyles and livelihood.

Moreover, as national economies and political systems become more intricately involved in the world order, technocrats in national public agencies interact with technocrats in international organizations of many kinds and in private transnational enterprises. The prospect appears that the major lines of development policy may be determined through negotiations among technocrats from the three types of institutions, influenced to varying degrees and behind the scenes by the stronger national economic interest groups, with only limited participation and understanding by the national political leadership. The masses of the population would then

be able to participate only through resistance to changes they perceive as disadvantageous, generally too late for more than compensatory or obstructive gestures.

Nevertheless, complex societies grappling with problems whose solutions must be in large part "counter-intuitive" cannot afford to dispense with experts. The ideal would be for participatory mechanisms to call the experts to account and struggle against technocratic arrogance, without falling into populist campaigns of denigration or persecution. The disorders associated with the latter exaggeration, as various experiences indicate, usually lead to the discrediting of participation and the return of a technocratically inclined leadership. As in the case of bureaucracy, one must envisage the tension between participation and technocracy as a legitimate and permanent aspect of the evolution of development policy.

6. Culture and choices of development styles

As was suggested above, in the more recent stages of international discourse on development, the idea of the legitimacy of different styles gained ground against the idea of development as a uniform process whose laws all national societies must follow under penalty of remaining "backward". The earlier approach assumed that "traditional" cultures and forms of social organization presented obstacles that must be swept away in the course of modernization.

The newer conception affirmed that development should be "endogenous", that somehow the choice of a style of development should emerge from the national culture. It was open to various objections: that it went too far in reversing the uniformity and ethnocentrism of the previous conception; that it evaded the inescapable organizational and motivational requirements of industrialization; that national cultures are rarely if ever homogeneous enough to lead to coherent choices of this kind; that certain cultural traits might be incompatible with any change deserving the name of development or with choices in line with real national capabilities; and that the real choices would continue to be made by dominant minorities in-

terpreting the national culture to suit themselves. It could also be argued that the aspiration to endogenous styles of development represented a reaction to dominant trends of world cultural homogenization and economic integration that had already gone too far to be reversed.

In any case, major ideological and political forces in a good many countries will undoubtedly continue to make the effort. The main conceptual issue for participation at this point concerns the reconcilability of the known organizational forms of participation—elected local governments, trade unions, cooperatives, women's associations, etc.—which share in the uniformity of the previous conception of development, with the diversity of forms and values implied by endogenous development. It would be ingenuous to ignore that participation, where it arises spontaneously in reaction to the shocks of imported modernization, can be xenophobic, intolerant of national minorities, hostile to women's assertion of equal rights. Ideologists can interpret national cultures either to emphasize these features or to delegitimize them. Popular movements may or may not internalize the ideological interpretations. One can expect a continuing tension between the claims of universal values and cultural diversity, with outcomes that will be internally contradictory and continually changing.

The ambiguity of international expertise

The present endorsement of participation at the international level as a requisite for development means that the international agencies are commissioning "experts" in policies relating to participation, and governments are requesting their advisory services. It is natural that such experts should be strong believers in the virtues of participation and also in the virtues of styles of development different from those prevailing up to the present. They generally base their claims to expertise on experience within participatory movements or programmes in their own countries and elsewhere; the long history of community development and related programmes has provided abundant opportunities for promotors of participation to gain relevant experience. However, the reports of such experts leaves one with the impression that a good many of them fall

within the judgment of Dudley Seers. That is, they advise governments to embark on participation on a scale incompatible with the government's sources of support or its capacity to create and manage complex new institutions.[10]

Or, alternatively, some groups within the machinery of the state—progressive planners and specialists in social programmes—are eager to undertake bold participatory initiatives and welcome the experts' support, but lack the capacity to mobilize decisive political backing for the initiatives once they encounter serious resistance, sabotage, or cooptation by forces having different purposes. By this time, one serious hindrance in a good many countries to new participatory initiatives sponsored by public agencies is a history of previous initiatives promoted intensively, then starved of resources, quietly abandoned, or violently reversed, often with the dismissal of the functionaries involved and the repression of the popular leadership called forth. Apparent apathy in the face of participatory appeals may derive from bitter experience and a more realistic appreciation of the risks than that of the experts.

A conceptual framework

It will not help to elaborate an idealized conception of participation to which all national societies must aspire. Nor will it help to declare that each national society must evolve its own conception of participation on the basis of its culture and the style of development preferred by its dominant forces. This is somewhat closer to the line of reasoning pursued above, but it constitutes an over-facile evasion of the task.

[10] Dudley Seers, The prevalence of pseudo-planning, in Mike Faber and Dudley Seers (eds.), *The crisis in planning*, Chatto and Windus, Ltd., published for the Sussex University Press, London, 1972.

The central proposition for a conceptual framework that seems to emerge from this reasoning sets forth the unavoidability and permanence of two kinds of tension: first, between the striving for participation and the striving for the rationalization of development policy; second, between different forces, each of them presenting internal divisions and contradictions in purposes, with their configuration differing in each national society, but with common features deriving from their links to an interdependent world order that shapes their actions as well as their perceptions.

First, there is the state, with its political decision makers and bargainers, its planners, technocrats, bureaucrats, militarists, and social specialists. The state may "choose" a participatory style of development, as many international declarations exhort it to do, or it may not, but generally its role will be ambivalent and contradictory. Some of its activities will favour participation while others hamper or repress it. On balance, it will favour some kinds of participation by some groups, but not other kinds by other groups. Abrupt changes in the forces controlling the state will have stimulating or repressive consequences; the propensity towards inhibiting standardization and regulation will remain, although periodic campaigns against bureaucracy may keep it in check.

Second, there are the sectors of the population already able to participate in an organized way and to influence the choices made by the state in line with their perceived interests. The holders of major amounts of capital and land are generally at the head, although in some countries techno-bureaucratic or military elites and in others the managers of transnational enterprises have supplanted them. Other groups with a voice range from the heterogeneous "middle strata" to the workers in modern enterprises. It can be supposed that most of them have some propensity to envisage participation in terms of democratic procedures and social solidarity, but that the overall scarcity of resources and particularly of well-paying jobs, along with the lures of the consumer society, continually spur them to competitive and excluding tactics, implying the manipulation of any participatory machinery to their own advantage. Some significant groups, however, that are able to

participate in an organized way are less dominated by material group interests, and in certain conjunctures have had a strategic role in participation: ideologically motivated segments of the working class, intellectuals, students, members of religious congregations. Some of these groups have organized themselves in political movements, trade unions, and other national interest-group organizations that try to achieve a redistribution of power through the aggregation of local groups, so as to be able to enforce demands on the state or on private employers. However, the political movements and interest-group organizations have their own biases, toward bureaucratization, manipulation, and promising more than they can perform. In most Third World countries they have proved rather weak and erratic defenses against the techno-bureaucratic state.

Third, one comes to the masses, also heterogeneous, singled out by the above definition as "hitherto excluded" from "control over resources and regulative institutions". A later elaboration of this definition equates their participation with a "struggle over the terms of incorporation" in the predominantly urban-industrial societies that are emerging.[11]

The unique feature of present international considerations of participation as a policy issue is or should be that it is sponsored by elements within the first two forces described above, but focuses on the third, and implies that development choices made by the state or by minorities cannot be fully legitimate. The forms taken by this recognition may sometimes remind one of Tolstoy's judgment of those who would do anything for the people except get off their backs, but this is not the whole story. It can be assumed that the state has some capacity to promote participation, and that at least some of the groups now "participating" have a positive capacity to change their values and tactics. These two capacities must then somehow adjust themselves to the awakening of a real capacity by the "hitherto excluded" to "exercise control", and the "hitherto

[11] Matthias Stiefel and Andrew Pearse, Launching the debate, *Dialogue about participation, 1*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Popular Participation Programme, UNRISD/81/C.17, Geneva, June 1981, pp. 1-15.

excluded" must evolve realistic conceptions and tactics for the use of whatever degree of control they can achieve.

The operational implications of this conceptual framework emphasizing tensions and adjustments between the expectations and tactics of different actors would have to be dealt with at another level—that of the interplay of forces in specific national societies. At the present level of generalization, one can only repeat the exhortation to flexibility and to a preference for arrangements that derive from the experience of the participant group over institutions borrowed from abroad or deduced from the ideology of the dominant forces.

Current issues

Community participation in family planning: some issues

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Aware of the shortcomings of the "top-down" approach, and of the fact that no programme can succeed without the support of the people it intends to serve, the Programme Development Department of the International Office of IPPF has summarized some of the experiences which it has gained in community participation in family planning programmes.

Discussed below are such issues as services that do not respond to felt needs, internal divisions and hierarchies within communities, the limitations to the ability to participate, the political vulnerability of popular movements, and the achievement of service integration at the local level.

Rationale

Until fairly recently, programmes and projects aimed at improving the socio-economic and health conditions of the poor tended to be initiated, designed, and implemented from the top down by agencies and institutions without the systematic consultation and involvement of the intended beneficiaries. The basic idea was that the introduction of modern technology and science would automatically lead to a decent standard of living

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Excerpted from *Community participation in family planning: issues and examples*, International Planned Parenthood Federation, London, July 1982, 42 p.

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for all and that the availability of modern health services would defeat illness and disability.

However, with experience has come the awareness that top-down approaches to development create an increasing dependence of the people on outside resources and also sharpen social divisions. Moreover, the cost of this approach to welfare and development is so high that no government in any low-income country can reasonably expect to meet the needs of all its people in the near future. It also has become clear that the intended beneficiaries of development and health care do not necessarily share the perception programme planners have of their priority needs. As a result, services offered to the people have often been rejected or underutilized because they did not meet their needs, or did not respect their sensitivities.

Meanwhile, grass-root movements have been quietly pioneering the community-centered approach to development, based on principles and initiatives coming from the people themselves. The recognition of the shortcomings of the top-down approach to development and an increasing awareness of the potential of "self-help" are causing governments and agencies worldwide to re-examine their assumptions and priorities.

As a result, the approach to development has begun to shift from top-down to bottom-up, from specialized to integrated, from lecturing to dialogue, from modern technology to appropriate technology.

To implement this community-centered development approach presents a challenge. It requires a great deal of new learning and adaptation on the part of development planners and institutions. Attitudes and styles have to be adapted, responsibilities decentralized, and new modes of accountability developed. The difficult but worthwhile task ahead has just begun.

Occasional limiting factors

While the idea of community participation has gained widespread acceptance, its practice has revealed limitations

and impediments as well as produced successes. Progress towards implementing the participatory approach can only be made if a critical assessment is made of the "limits" of participation and of what can realistically be achieved in the different field conditions. So far, experience has indicated a number of factors that restrict or complicate its application. While the extent and intensity of these limiting factors is not yet known, it is clear that one cannot adopt one single, uniform model, i.e., the participatory one, and expect it to be the complete answer in all conditions and circumstances. Some of the issues so far identified are discussed below.

Family planning not always a felt need

A crucial and most vital factor in achieving community participation in any development effort is that the people must *want* the particular service. The use of modern contraceptives is by no means universally accepted as desirable by the client-population.

In many instances, if not in most, family planning is not included when communities express their needs and allocate priorities. They may not recognize the benefits of family planning to mother and child health, and the contribution it makes to the quality of life. If activities are not consciously desired, one cannot expect enthusiasm and eagerness towards participating in them. In such cases family planning may be offered in conjunction with other services which are meeting expressed and identified needs—e.g., income-generating activities, general health services. In these situations it is anticipated that once people have faith in the programme personnel and their activities, they will become more informed and open to the idea of family planning.

Internal socio-political hierarchies

Communities are not homogeneous entities. Some kind of ranking by class or caste, sex or age group, political affiliation or religion, affects even the smallest and poorest of com-

munities. These internal divisions are not immediately apparent to visiting programme personnel, but have important consequences for programme implementation.

Local decision making, in particular in rural areas, conforms to the internal socio-political hierarchy. In some cultures the hierarchy is a traditional one, with the "elders" making the major decisions for the rest of the community. Some groups, such as women, young people, and the landless, have no or little influence in this process and thus their interests are not likely to receive much attention. In socialist communities a party cadre may be the decision-making body and, although it may be more representative of the age and sex groups in the community, it is guided primarily by policies and priorities from the center and these may differ from local perceptions.

Whether family planning ranks highly or not in the needs as expressed by the community may well depend on who has a voice in identifying those needs. Concerns of the leadership may take priority over the concerns of the majority, particularly of women and youth.

Thus, even working within the community's decision-making system and using, as a starting point, needs identified by the community, is in itself no guarantee that the interests of all its people will be served. Careful consideration is required to achieve an effective balance between respect for community structures and ensuring that all community groups receive a fair hearing and share in the benefits of programme activities.

Identifying a person to be responsible for the family planning programme locally may be a vital factor in ensuring broad access and participation. Experience indicates that no hard and fast rules apply to the selection of a programme leader. It can be a man or a woman, a formal leader or a natural one, an old or quite young person, educated or illiterate. What seems to appear as a common denominator is that the person must be well known, highly respected and that he or she be motivated beyond an interest in self-improvement. Above all, he/she must be able to relate to people.

Limitations to the ability to participate

Even where people are committed to the idea of family planning, they can only participate in programme activities within their means and abilities. Unrealistically high expectations are sometimes put on the ability of people to dedicate time and effort to programme activities. Participation presupposes that people have spare time and surplus physical energy. However, the poorest groups particularly suffer from bad health and live on inadequate diets; they need all their energy to scrape together a living. Mothers of large families who could benefit most from family planning also have the least time to spare.

Those who are developing programmes must realize that community participation is not a magic solution to development and health problems everywhere and always. Community participation counts on the resources of the poor—i.e., their time, energy, and enthusiasm—and looked at realistically these resources are limited! Not everybody is able to participate in programme activities beyond being recipients of the services. Only some of the people are in a position to contribute some of their energy and time at certain stages of their lives.

No doubt, nevertheless, most communities do have some resources of spare time, energy, and enthusiasm which can be tapped. However, to be successful the community-centered development approach must learn and understand what can or cannot be done under different conditions. Above all, development agencies need to ensure that no conflicting and overburdening demands be made on the people in the decade ahead.

Community organizations as channels for family planning activities

In some areas of the world there is a long tradition of group action to achieve a common goal. Such actions vary widely and are pursued by groups which range from highly structured organizations to informal, temporary groups. There are

numerous and varied examples of participation by such groups in family planning promotion and service delivery, either for their own benefit or for that of the community at large. This approach of working through existing community channels has proved to be highly acceptable, cost-effective, and efficient in terms of manpower.

However, community channels suitable for integration with family planning do not exist in all situations. The fringes of large cities which receive immigrants from the surrounding areas are particular examples of situations where local structures are either non-existent or are in a state of perpetual flux and change. In societies where by tradition women are kept secluded in their homes, organizations with a sexually mixed membership just do not exist and exclusively female organizations are rare. Not surprisingly, it has proved to be far more difficult to generate community participation in family planning programmes where working in a group is unusual and no suitable community structures exist.

In such cases the community's involvement may still be achieved, for instance through the participation of key local individuals in the family planning activities or through the generation of new groups. The individuals participating may be traditional health providers such as birth attendants, healers, etc., or they may be people who have had no previous involvement with health but are trusted and well known in the community.

Also, family planning and related activities initially provided by outsiders can generate support from clients to such an extent that active participation results. "Acceptor clubs" initiated in that way frequently branch out into mutual assistance groups and undertake a variety of activities benefiting the members and their families.

There is a need to carry out and carefully analyze different approaches to involving communities in programmes in order to identify promising ways of achieving this. Experimentation will be required with a built-in capacity for research and feedback.

Political vulnerability of popular movements

While there is a strong case for community participation in all development activities, such involvement can also go beyond the immediate objectives of the programme. People who have become aware of their needs, and have proved to themselves that they can act to meet these needs, also learn to recognize the barriers and obstacles put in their way by structured systems. For example, nutrition education generates a regular demand for a variety of foods. The landless and jobless, confronted with the problems of obtaining those foods in sufficient quantity, might question why their needs cannot be satisfied and demand jobs or land. Small-scale community participation projects may develop into popular movements. Such participation, going beyond the immediate objectives of programmes, can be channelled in a positive way leading to meaningful development. In many cases this will require a restructuring of socio-economic and political systems which might involve a loss of power by some social classes.

Often, therefore, popular movements (i.e., community participation on the larger scale) are tolerated while they are still powerless but are seen as a threat by some social classes when they grow in skills and influence. Ultimately, such realities have to be faced and accommodated.

Liaison/coordination with local government

While NGOs are often community based or have a high level of local autonomy, government decision making tends to be more centralized. Although there are numerous examples of good cooperation between the two, where the best possible use is made of resources, in many instances the full potential of cooperation is not achieved because of structural conditions. Local action aims to achieve results quickly. Local government workers are often not free to participate in collaborative efforts because they receive instructions from departments not involved in the particular programme and their loyalties understandably are with their particular departments.

Therefore much can, and should, be done to remove the obstacles to collaboration through national and international consultations. The objective is to achieve service integration at the field level without sectoral divisions.

Dossier
Part II

Lessons learned

Lessons learned

Popular participation in basic services

Lessons learned through UNICEF's experience

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For many years, as a key component of its basic services strategy, UNICEF has promoted and supported popular participation in the areas of education, health, nutrition, and water supply and sanitation in underprivileged rural and urban settings.

Community participation often involves a significant change in their approach for both the communities and the government. A critical problem is to avoid creating new patterns of dependency.

This paper presents some lessons learned from past experiences, with special emphasis on the participation of women, too often excluded from participatory activities.

Community participation, fundamental to the attack on poverty

UNICEF's assistance and cooperation are directed towards problems of social development—health, education, nutrition, non-formal education, water supply and sanitation—in poor rural and urban areas. Attention is focused on increasing ac-

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cess to and utilization of basic services by poor children and their families in isolated and underserved areas, with particular attention to children below the age of 5 and their mothers.

For UNICEF, the concept of "basic services" which is central to all programmes of cooperation encompasses both *what* services should be available and *how* they should be provided and managed. It is in this latter context that UNICEF gives great importance to community or popular participation as an approach. Although sometimes efforts at organizing communities for participation and self-reliance can stand alone, in UNICEF programmes of cooperation, participation is most often an integral part of the basic services approach.

In the search for greater impact at less cost, UNICEF defines cost-effective programmes as those which have the lowest feasible initial costs, which are desired and utilized by the community, and which will, therefore, be effective and sustained by the community even after outside assistance—government or NGO—is phased out. Experience in country programmes as far flung as Brazil, Ethiopia, and the Philippines indicates there is no better way to foster such cost-effective programmes than by building, supporting, and implementing programmes in a participatory manner.

Participation is also central to the search for ways to attack the problems of poverty and inequitable distribution of resources and services. The process may include, but is not limited to, contributions of labour and materials by poor people in the implementation of projects. However, genuine participation leading to self-reliance and continuity in community-based social services grows most often out of people's involvement from the first phases of problem identification and data collection, through programme and project design, to ultimate implementation, management, and evaluation.

The inequities to be addressed are not only those between urban and rural areas or between rich and poor. They also include those between boys and girls, men and women. For this reason increasing attention is being given in programmes of UNICEF cooperation to women-specific activities that seek to increase women's access to new development programmes and resources—and to facilitate their participation in regular sec-

toral activities such as water supply and sanitation, nutrition, and non-formal education.

Often a significant change in approach for both communities and government

There are many examples of popular participation in development activities, such as in the construction and maintenance of water supply systems, or in the initiation and operation of community health programmes, of nutrition education and supplementary feeding programmes, or of initial education and day-care programmes. These are carried out by auxiliaries chosen by their communities and given brief, simple specialized training.

While such activities seem fairly straightforward, in fact, they often reflect considerable change on the part of communities and governments from the days when it was assumed that delivery, maintenance, and staffing of services were the responsibility of government or other outside entities. Moving from a completely formal system of service delivery reaching out from the center to a community-based system using paraprofessionals is a complicated process. UNICEF cooperation in support of participatory systems of basic services may thus involve the supply of goods, equipment, training, or finance at any level in the system needed to help achieve the desired end. For example, in trying to introduce village-level health workers, one may encounter the problem of convincing senior medical professionals that village-level paraprofessionals with the right training and supervision can function as effectively and less expensively than lower-level paid government field workers. The proposal might entail the training of village workers. It might be a question of making appropriate technology available so that a community can maintain its own system of dispensing basic drugs, including locally grown and administered herbal remedies.

If it is so complicated to put the new approach into practice, why bother? UNICEF's experience—shared by many governments and NGOs around the world—is that genuine popular

participation and involvement in problem identification, project design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation will almost invariably improve utilization rates, programme continuity and maintenance, and, accordingly, cost-effectiveness. However, participation is a process, an approach to solving local problems, that will usually require action at many levels. Without such support from higher officials, the dedicated and highly motivated village-level worker as well as the bottom-level government extension agent upon whom so much depends may quickly lose face, interest, and newly acquired skills.

A critical problem: how to avoid creating new patterns of dependency?

A critical problem in any village assistance activity is how to improve the situation of the village without inadvertently perpetuating or creating new patterns of dependency. Dependency arises in two ways:

- If popular participation is limited to sector-specific projects where the community members are solely implementors of programmes designed and managed by others, the community workers rarely learn how to initiate independent, responsible action. Their competence extends only to carrying out assigned tasks—regardless of their appropriateness or impact—and reporting to their supervisor.
- If special care is not taken to ensure the involvement of the poorest and most frequently unrepresented, it is the traditional elite and wealthier groups who will gain new skills and access to outside resources through programmes provided to the village when the poor are away working. As local elites exercise these skills, the relative gap between rich and poor widens and the poor find themselves left further and further behind.

In the first case, the community workers become dependent on outside instruction and, in the second, the pattern of domination by the rich in the community is reinforced while the poor miss out on access to new activities.

Some guidelines derived from previous experiences

These problems are recognized by many governments with which UNICEF works. Some programmes are designed to avoid these two pitfalls by involving the people in the original data gathering and project design and by providing training in some of the basic skills of planning and project development. Certain guidelines have emerged; for example:

- Help poor people go through the process of identifying their own priority concerns, organize for action around those concerns, and develop solutions to them rather than presenting people with pre-packaged solutions to pre-identified problems. In the process two things happen: the people become better organized and they begin to take action to improve their own situation.
- Train members of existing groups—formal or non-formal—in the skills of simple problem identification, data collection, and analysis leading to their own project development based on local resources or a combination of their own and outside assistance.
- Enable community members and outside experts to learn together processes and methods of joint community survey, analysis, and planning. Both gain a respect for and acquire the specialized knowledge of the other and learn to work together. Community members learn to see planning as logical problem solving, which they can practice, and not as an esoteric and incomprehensible process to be controlled only by outsiders.

Special attention to participation by women

One may wonder why UNICEF gives special attention to women when discussing popular participation. Are women not members of the community? Do they not share the inspiration and responsibilities with their fellow men and contribute to the well-being of the community? Why is there separate attention?

First, the rationale for special attention does not stem from a desire to separate women. It is to make up for past separation:

to ensure that in the present and future previously ignored women are given the chance to share with their fellow men the responsibilities and benefits of developing their communities.

Second, as community participation has been practiced in the past, it often meant the participation of men only: field workers sought the opinion of male householders to make decisions in programmes—even those where users and beneficiaries were women; men exclusively were consulted on the community's priority problems even though they constituted only half or less of the community. Women were excluded from training and educational programmes that improved "men's work" and taught them new skills. This has rarely been by deliberate design. Because of socio-cultural factors, logistical problems, timing, forgetfulness, or any one of many other reasons, women's ideas have not been heard. Accordingly, the erroneous notion has evolved and been perpetuated that "women do not know", "women cannot understand", "women are not interested".

In fact, programmes have often been improved by the contribution of women's ideas, labour, and concern when changes were made to facilitate their participation. What kinds of changes have promoted women's participation? The addition of women staff to work with women villagers is one. The organization of an activity which gives women more self-confidence is another. An example is literacy training in Indonesia, about which a male village head remarked, "I know one result of the women's learning to read. Now they are more self-confident and they come to meetings and have good ideas." A change in the time or location of a meeting so that women can attend it makes a difference. Even when men and women cannot meet together, ways are being found to consult with groups of women so that their ideas are included in the development of a project that will have an impact on their lives.

Finally, women are given special attention because of their critical and often undersupported role as mothers. As the builders of society, mothers have the primary responsibility for the nurture and well-being of their children. They are the first and sometimes the only teacher of their children. With the

changes in social life brought by the decline of extended families, high divorce rates, the migration of men to work abroad or in cities, women/mothers are becoming heads of their families. They need to earn income for their families' survival, and to learn how to cope with their new role.

The role of advocacy and training in promoting participation

Direct community contacts crucial in changing the attitudes of government personnel

Recognition of the importance of participation, its advantages, methods, its dual function—promoting the delivery and utilization of basic services and promoting equity and self-reliance in development—comes through exposure, discussion, and experience. It is clear to people who are trying to give greater impetus to popular participation that while there are obstacles at the community level—lack of experience, time constraints, suspicion, etc., on the part of community members—there are also constraints within most bureaucracies. Both planning and budgetary cycles and conventional systems of accountability and personnel evaluation often make participatory approaches more difficult to implement in the short run than the conventional, less participatory approaches. Experiential community-based advocacy workshops can give people a new vision.

Once administrators, bureaucrats, or technicians are convinced of the potential for and capacity of communities to deal with their own problems, they find new flexibility in old rules, build community consultation into the planning process, and, in short, become participatory in their own approach to work. This conviction rarely comes, however, from theoretical discussion. It emerges from field trips and case studies, from joint workshops with community participants, and discussions with communities which have organized successfully to resolve some of their own problems. A new respect for people's capacities is often the end result.

UNICEF supports multipronged and frequent advocacy efforts as well as information sharing on these community-based concerns. The promotion of the message of popular participation as it is interpreted and carried out in countries around the globe takes many forms: country-specific workshops, regional workshops, individual community visits, demonstration projects and development of media material.

Importance of participatory training

An extra word might be added here about the nature of the training of community members to share local responsibilities more effectively. The experience of UNICEF and government partners in many parts of the world has demonstrated again and again that people cannot be "taught" to be participatory in non-participatory ways. Workshops which are set up with completely predetermined schedules and content; which are designed with no free time for reflection; which are classroom based; which take no account of the interests or concerns of the participants; in which the participants are passive recipients of new skills and are required to learn, by rote, sets of instructions and prescribed tasks; in which participants have no time to test ideas, relate them to their own knowledge and situations, and perhaps develop new knowledge; in which all communication is one way and participants are given no responsibility for their own learning—workshops such as these do not turn out graduates prepared to work in a participatory manner with others.

Even if the content of a training programme is presented as "a new participatory approach", people tend to learn and later teach others what they have experienced rather than what they hear. Many well-intentioned development programmes have come to unhappy endings as such non-participatory training moved down through levels of government toward the community. The result: a community worker with little initiative, or sense of responsibility, or even competence beyond the mere carrying out of instructions. When instructions stop coming, of course, the programme declines—and the entire investment is wasted.

Lessons learned concerning participatory activities

Based on the observation and evaluation of many UNICEF-supported activities, important lessons have been learned.

- *Participatory planning* is often the best entry point for people or agencies seriously interested in stimulating people's participation throughout a project. Programmes in which community residents participate only in implementation activities—where all major decisions of design, location, schedule, and the like have been taken by other people, often outsiders—encounter difficulty in evoking the desired response and seldom survive for long. Unrepaired pumps and unused latrines around the world bear witness to this problem. As has been written in connection with primary health care:

> The basic question in a community participation programme is how the members of a given community with all their problems, traditions and diversities, can be motivated to act together to improve their communal environment. The answer to this question does not depend on surveys but on dialogue.[1]

- *Starting participatory activities* in an area with no previous similar experience is *labour-intensive and time-consuming*. Two processes are taking place simultaneously—*(a)* people are organizing, and *(b)* they are beginning the process of cooperative problem solving. In the long run the cost-effectiveness of such activities usually proves itself through high acceptability and utilization rates and a self-sustaining life for the project. But programme design and financial plans must assume a considerable period of cooperative effort and support—moral, technical, and intellectual—to get a community moving.

- Introducing participatory methods in a programme usually requires considerable attention to the *training and orientation* of both community members, and the national and local bureaucracy. This is most effectively done in combined training and cooperative project-related work. Many people feel

[1] Susan B. Rifkin (guest ed.), *Health: the human factor—readings in health, development and community participation*, Contact Special Series no. 3, Christian Medical Commission, Geneva, June 1980, p. 120.

it cannot be done by working either just with government or just with the community. To be effective, training must be practical, based on reality, interesting, and participatory in methodology.

- It is very difficult for *sector-specific extension workers* to organize poor village and urban people except in connection with their own particular sectoral programmes. Both their training and their bureaucratic responsibilities and accountability upward through their own ministry, instead of to the community, militate against a broader integrated view. The organizing of communities around their own issues (not those of external programmes) can sometimes be accomplished by a properly trained multisectoral "development team". Often, non-governmental organizations demonstrate the most successful kinds of organizing.

- Generally the most effective organizers and motivators for women will be women. Any programme serious about promoting *women's participation* will look seriously at the challenge of recruiting, training, and introducing into the field skilled and dedicated women extension agents, and women programme supervisors.

- The *process and structure of participation* must be carefully monitored to ensure that they are accessible to, understood by, and utilized by the poorer sectors of the population. If the poor are not included, they and their children may be further by-passed or oppressed, all in the name of participation. Particular attention needs to be given to the problem of how best to ensure women's contribution either through joint activities with men or, if that is socially impossible, through intermediaries or separate consultations.

- While effective community participation may bring some programme costs down, this does not mean outsiders have no role to play. In particular, communities which are new to the process of handling their own affairs may urgently *need cooperation, advice, support*—moral and material—from outside. In the absence of such support, a community-based project which starts off well may collapse. What is needed, therefore, is cooperation but of the sort that protects community control over activities, not the sort that overwhelms it.

- The *compulsory participation* of community members in activities can often have an impressive short-term result as measured by attendance at specific functions or the number of babies immunized. It is, however, *an illusory promise*, contributing little to the longer-term goal of building a sense of responsibility, independence, and self-reliance. Women who are suddenly compelled to attend meetings where they are not made to feel welcome nor helped to participate, neither learn nor contribute. They may even become more passive as a result of the experience.

- Participation that is based on groups performing some *economically productive activity* generally has a better chance of long-term survival and effectiveness than participation which is based on arbitrarily organized groups or groups concerned exclusively with narrowly social matters.

- The decentralized *area development* approach to planning, by moving the planning process closer to the community, can be very supportive of participation and integration at the community level. Another aspect of the area development approach that favours participation is its focus on a geographic unit and on problem solving as needed within that unit. This finite focus lends itself better to participation and better recognizes local differences—an important factor in the success or failure of a programme—than the more traditional, centrally planned package programmes of a sectoral ministry.

- Participation is often easier to stimulate and support in the *urban setting* than in the rural. People are physically closer together, facilitating communication; there are a multitude of small issues around which people can rally; and communities can capitalize on a rich variety of outside resources.

- Too much use of the *"rhetoric of participation"* without the practice of it can be counter-productive and create dangers, frustration, and confusion.

- *Bureaucratic obstacles* to the participation of women and to participatory approaches in general are at least as much of an obstacle to overcome as are ignorance and disinterest at the community level. Neither problem can be ignored without jeopardizing many aspects of a basic services programme.

Self-reliance, an approach for both immediate and long-term results

On the basis of experience and observation, UNICEF is convinced that participatory approaches are the only ones that hold out long-term hope for effective development. Effective development means sensitivity to the problems a community feels it must resolve, and a level of complexity and scope which can be understood and hence controlled and sustained by the population. Communities and community workers treated as objects by the development systems around them, manipulated and always told what to do, will never learn self-reliance. They will always be passive and dependent on others. Yet time moves too quickly and problems are too urgent to await external help.

While national policy and master plans can make significant contributions to the solution of family and community problems, in the final analysis it is men and women living out their daily lives and working creatively and resourcefully—participating in the process of development, learning to analyze their own problems, and developing solutions with available resources—who will improve the lives of children.

A checklist for use in identifying participatory components of projects

The following checklist can be used to assess project proposals as well as for project monitoring and evaluation.

A Highly participative
B Participative
C Somewhat participative
D Non-participative
E Authoritarian

1. Project planning process:

— through initial open discussions with the community of its problems and how to solve them *A*
— through a discussion of the project proposal with opinion leaders from the community *B*
— through discussions with government/non-government organizations at district/block/project level *C*
— project thrust from the outside without discussion *D*
— project imposed in absolute disregard of community's wishes *E*

2. Identification of the needs:

— by the people themselves *A*
— by local opinion leaders *B*
— by a government agency *C*
— by a centrally sponsored scheme *D*
— by fiat *E*

Excerpted from the *Report of the Community Participation Workshop*, Agra, May 1981, organized by UNICEF, New Delhi, pp. 13-16.

3. Extent of resource mobilization for the project:

— by the community	*A*
— by the community and others	*B*
— through matching contributions	*C*
— through massive external assistance	*D*
— with no contribution from the community	*E*

4. Identification of project workers:

— by the community with its own criteria	*A*
— by the community with imposed criteria	*B*
— appointment of local persons by outside implementing agency	*C*
— appointment of outsiders	*D*

5. Development of social and/or technical skills:

— through short, local pre-service training, followed by regular, on-the-job, in-service training, in parallel with the training of trainers from within the community	*A*
— through short, local pre-service training, followed by regular, on-the-job, in-service training	*B*
— through pre-service training within the district/town followed by some in-service training	*C*
— through pre-service training in a remote institution without any follow-up in-service training	*D*
— no training or training in an unfamiliar language	*E*

6. Project implementation:

— under community control (especially the remuneration of project workers)	*A*
— under community supervision	*B*
— with some community involvement	*C*
— with no community involvement	*D*

7. Periodic evaluation/monitoring of progress:

— by the community	*A*

— some evaluation by the community *B*
— outsiders' evaluation with results reported to the target community *C*
— outsiders' evaluation *not* reported to target community *D*
— no evaluation *E*

This checklist needs not only initial but also continuous refining in the light of the growing understanding of the concept of community participation and its implications. It should be shared with those formulating and/or submitting project proposals—which means that there must be some common understanding of the conceptual framework of community participation between all those concerned with project formulation and implementation.

There are in addition certain general points to be looked for in assessing projects:

- Does the institution move out into the villages instead of expecting people to come to it?
- Is the project working with primary institutions?
- Has the government given its stamp of approval to agencies at the local level involved in the project?
- Does the project work with women?
- Is there a specific methodology suggested for community involvement?
- Does it include a specific methodology for involving people in monitoring/evaluation?
- Does an infrastructure exist for an exchange of information at the local level?
- Is there an acknowledgement of possible conflict areas by the project?

Lessons learned

Lessons from grass-root development experience in Latin America and the Caribbean

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The Inter-American Foundation was created by the United States Congress in 1969 as an autonomous corporation. The major purpose of the grants it provides is to assist poor and disadvantaged groups in Latin America and the Caribbean to advance themselves economically, culturally, and socially, most often by directly supporting their initiatives to organize for their own development. The principal areas of Foundation funding include rural development, urban job creation, non-formal education, community services, legal assistance, and cultural expression.

Some of the major lessons that the Foundation has derived from its experience in assisting the self-help initiatives of poor people and grass-roots organizations are listed below.

Excerpted from Peter Hakim, *The Inter-American Foundation: lessons from its grass-roots development experience*, July 1981, 11 p. An excerpted version of the original text was also published under the title Lessons from the IAF experience, *Journal of the Inter-American Foundation*, vol. 5, no. 2, winter 1981, pp. 2-3.

- *Poor people know what they require to satisfy their interests, meet their needs, and solve their problems.* This does not mean that they know all the obstacles that are likely to emerge, have full information about alternative approaches, or will avoid serious mistakes and pitfalls. It does mean that projects work best when the intended beneficiaries are listened to and their ideas respected, and, indeed, when the projects are initiated, designed, and managed by the beneficiaries themselves. Mistakes will be made and failures will occur, but if the people directly affected are in charge and have access to needed technical assistance and training, they are likely to learn and emerge stronger for the next challenge.

- Grass-root organizations greatly enhance the opportunities of poor people to improve their own lives. By organizing, working together, and sharing scarce resources, poor people can find new employment opportunities, raise their incomes, and bring vital services to their communities. They also gain bargaining power that makes them better able to secure more equitable arrangements with merchants, landlords, and government officials—and can begin to transform their needs and hopes into demands and results. There are large and growing numbers of peasant, community, and worker organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean through which poor people are striving to improve their situations. *Even though many of these organizations are fragile and operate under extremely adverse conditions, they have shown time and time again that they can effectively use development assistance and contribute to the economic and social development of their members.* Their endurance in the face of great odds suggests the importance of these organizations to their communities. Peasant cooperatives in Haiti, Paraguay, and Peru supported by the Foundation are giving subsistence farmers access to credit and technical assistance for the first time. Community groups in Bolivia and Mexico are bringing health and nutrition services to their populations. Workers in Chile, Jamaica, and Uruguay have created jobs by organizing their own enterprises.

- *Organizations that are best able to serve the needs of poor people and poor communities share four characteristics: first, they provide tangible economic benefits to their members.*

Poor people will not invest their scarce time and resources in organizations that do not provide them economic gains. Secondly, *their membership has an active voice in running the organization*. Members do not necessarily share power equally or take part in every decision, but there are accepted procedures for securing the members' views, for resolving controversial issues, and for changing leadership. A third characteristic is that *benefits are distributed equitably*. Although everyone may not get an equal share, the procedures for determining allocations are fair, and the resulting distribution is not skewed toward any particular group. *Finally, the organizations have or can acquire the managerial and technical skills to use development assistance and perform the tasks at hand*.

- Strong, committed leadership is important to the development of local organizations and to their ability to perform effectively. But *dependency on one imposing leader, particularly from outside the community, is a sign of organizational weakness*. A high failure rate is associated with projects built around one strong central figure and lacking wider participation in decisions. The Foundation has learned this lesson the hard way; in almost every country in which it works, it can point to projects that have come to a halt and organizations that have been disbanded because their inspiration and leadership rested in a single person. Organizations, moreover, are often seriously debilitated by their inability to change their leadership and management style in response to evolving needs. In the early stages of their development, organizations may demand inspirational leadership to mobilize people and resources. As organizations grow and mature, and the services they provide become increasingly complex, they require managers with technical, professional, and administrative skills.

- Organizations need time to grow and mature. Even groups that have survived and prospered over long periods may have difficulties adjusting to new tasks or challenges—or to managing larger amounts of funds than they have been accustomed to. The *development efforts of promising organizations can be frustrated by unrealistic expectations that they can become*

self-sustaining or produce large gains within a short period. A slower pace of development with assistance forthcoming over a longer period may be more conducive to ultimate success. A Peruvian fishing cooperative, the Foundation's very first grantee, lost more than half its members and was nearly forced out of business when the anchovy disappeared from the coast of Peru. Now, after ten years of struggle, the cooperative has rebuilt its membership and is a profitable enterprise.

- *The success of self-help organizations and projects is sometimes dependent on the ability of organizations to secure services or resources that only governments can provide.* At a minimum, some form of legal status may be required to conduct certain activities. Frequently, more is necessary. For example, organizations that disburse credit—if they are to offer reasonable interest charges while maintaining the value of their capital—often require access to subsidized credit from public agencies. Self-help housing projects need local governments to provide sewage, water, and electricity. Educational programmes may require some form of official accreditation. Early and sustained attention to gaining access to required governmental assistance can be a crucial element in the success of projects.

- Successful projects are often those that have taken unusual turns and have reached unexpected, inadvertent outcomes. Efforts to restrict projects to their original purposes can stifle creativity, prevent the emergence of new solutions, and deny opportunities for taking advantage of changing circumstances and new ideas. *The most productive projects are not necessarily those that have achieved their initial goals; rather they tend to be projects in which (1) the local organization and its members have acquired the skills, knowledge, and capacity to solve problems and manage problems; and (2) local resources and initiatives have been mobilized for sustained efforts over time.* A group of thirteen Jamaican women were dissatisfied with their jobs as street cleaners in a make-work government programme. When they were unable to carry out their plans to start a restaurant, the women requested that a Foundation grant be redirected to permit them to organize a workshop for silk-screen production. The workshop is now operating and in-

dications are that it will produce sufficient income for the women to leave the welfare programme.

- *When assisting poor people and fragile organizations that are operating in difficult circumstances, it is important that red tape, bureaucratic delays, and demands for information be kept to a minimum.* A short response time to proposals, straightforward criteria for assessing projects, and limited paperwork are desirable when working with small, local organizations. These measures avoid frustration, suspicion, and exasperation—and let the organization and its leadership get on with the job rather than trying to satisfy outside demands. A quick "no" may be preferred to a drawn-out "yes".

- In working with local organizations, project objectives ought to be specific. Who the beneficiaries are and how they are to be benefited should be clearly defined. *Broad or vague purposes, no matter how inspiring, are not conducive to effective action.* Local organizations are best at handling discrete tasks that have a clear beginning and end. The problems of poverty do not have to be confronted comprehensively for progress to be made; indeed, successful groups usually start with one activity and only later move to another.

The lessons that the Foundation has gained from its experience are associated with its own purposes, scale, and style. Many of the lessons, however, have a broader validity, and should be useful to diverse institutions and programmes that are trying to assist the development efforts of poor people.

Research notes

Research notes

UNRISD's Popular Participation Programme

An inquiry into power, conflict, and social change

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In 1977, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) defined a new medium-term research strategy, with "livelihood" and "participation" as the two major themes around which the Institute's work should be organized. Participation appeared not only as a basic end goal of development, but also as a major organizational concept and tool for achieving proclaimed development goals. What seemed indeed to be the most significant fact to emerge from a retrospective review of two previous "development decades" was that economic growth has scarcely improved the productive capacity and the livelihood of those with the least assets, status, and power; it has instead mainly benefited those who already had them. Past research carried out by the Institute had also shown convincingly that measures aimed at increasing the productivity of the poor must be accompanied by increased participation in the political and managerial process if they are to lead to development. This, of course, implies profound structural change.

This article presents the concepts which Andrew Pearse and Matthias Stiefel developed together as Co-directors of the Popular Participation Programme, the titles they held until Pearse's death in December 1980. It has been updated by Matthias Stiefel, who has incorporated information on the Programme's evolution and present activities.

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The UNRISD Programme on Popular Participation was initiated in the summer of 1979 with a debate on a major conceptual document on the theory and practice of participation,[1] that defined the broad theoretical framework of the programme. At present about 700 persons and institutions throughout the world are taking part in the Institute's "debate" on participation.[2]

Research approaches

In order to define an adequate area of research in a way that does not permit the central issue of power to be evaded, the definition of participation proposed for this inquiry is: "the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control".

The idea of popular participation has many dimensions and may be approached in a variety of ways. In this paper, it is considered in five different dimensions.

1. Participation as encounter

Since participatory action implies a new sharing of decision-making power, it may be seen as *encounter* between social categories, classes, interest groups, confrontations between villagers and metropolitan interests, or members of voluntary associations face to face with immobile establishments. The hitherto excluded strata confront the supporters and controllers of sets of social arrangements which determine patterns of access to resources, services, status, and power, seeking a new deal.

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[1] Andrew Pearse and Matthias Stiefel, *Inquiry into participation: a research approach*, UNRISD/79/C.14, Geneva, May 1979, 43 p.

[2] Initial contributions to the debate were published in Selina Cohen (ed.), *Debaters' comments on "Inquiry into participation: a research approach" by Andrew Pearse and Matthias Stiefel*, Report no. 80.5, UNRISD, Geneva, 1980, 130 p. Subsequent contributions to the debate are published in the periodical, *Dialogue about participation*, which is issued in English and Spanish.

Viewing participation as encounter draws attention to the way institutional change takes place and shows the frequently anti-participatory nature of established institutions as well as the transformation or modification of power structures as indicators of successful participatory action. It proceeds logically to an assessment of the losses and gains of the encounter from whatever point of view the observer chooses to take.

2. Participatory groups and movements

A second approach to participation is through the analysis of the structure, modus operandi, and context of organized groups and emergent movements of those hitherto without power and influence, who are seeking increased participation through the pursuit of specific social, economic, and political goals.

Special attention is called to some fundamental factors making for strength. One of these is the structure and internal organization of the movement or group. Effective organization transforms a flock of powerless individuals into a social force and makes possible tactical unity in the encounter sequences.

Another factor of prime importance is the form and character of leadership and the relation between the "leaders" and the "followers" of the movement. Leadership in participatory movements is paradoxically often embodied in a single individual, who has acquired this role on the basis of traditional social status, of democratic elections, or most frequently of his personal charisma. While such a leader may command the necessary authority, the fate of the movement is often closely linked to his personal fate. Collective leadership seems to ensure greater continuity, but seems more difficult to achieve.

A major factor for study is the extent of alliances with other organized movements such as traditional parties and unions and with middle-strata elements. Existing evidence indicates that some interaction between internal and external agents of change, some class alliance, is necessary to promote viable and lasting popular movements. The nature of this alliance will influence in an important way the extent to which the movement can defend the interests of the social groups it represents.

3. Participation as individual experience

In our operational definition, participation refers to group action, yet decisions to participate in such action are individual ones which can only be explained by examining the life-experience of the individual. In this sense one can talk about a biographical approach to understanding participation. Such an approach is indispensable, since important concepts like "decision making", "class consciousness", "conscientization", "motivation", and "alienation" are functions of or imply individuality.

4. Participation as programme or project

In government circles and international organizations, popular participation usually refers to individual programmes or projects designed to promote development in specific sectors and supposed to involve or lead to some degree of participation by the intended beneficiaries. Sponsored by government agencies, voluntary organizations, or international organizations, such programmes and projects may also be analyzed as "movements", or as "encounters", but the specific approach to "programmes" and "projects" is derived from the fact that they have often been initiated "from above", that the initial "motor" of participation lies outside the powerless, in the relatively privileged sector. It implies that there exists a concept of what ought to be done about the poor and underprivileged and a belief that the "participation" of the latter can be secured, provided the right approach is adopted.

In attempting to evaluate and explain the apparent successes and failures of such sponsored movements as well as the authenticity of the participation, there are a number of angles the researcher has to consider. What are, on the local level, the dynamic impulses, the system of motivation that direct the actions of the officials, field workers, or cadres in the forefront of the promotion campaigns? How does the extension worker, the "change agent", relate to the programme's "target group" and to what extent is he able to transfer initiatives to the intended beneficiaries of the project? What level of participation seems actually to have been achieved: which sectors of the

"target group" participated most effectively at what stage of the project or programme, and which benefited most; what aspects of the programme were most successful in promoting what kind of participation?

In studying such development programmes, it must be kept in mind that they reflect the interests and the relative strengths of specific social forces or of a combination of such forces. They must therefore be studied as part and expression of the ongoing societal process with its diverse and often conflicting social forces, which may favour or oppose such initiatives to promote popular participation.

A further question arising from these considerations, but that may well be unanswerable, concerns the wider aim or effect of the programme: is it "system-maintaining", designed to transform disadvantaged and disaffected groups into "responsive citizens" implementing policies outlined by some higher authority, or is it "system-transforming", designed to effectively transfer political and economic power to hitherto disadvantaged groups and thus to introduce more radical social change?

A final important concern is to judge the programme through the eyes of the intended beneficiaries: how do the rank-and-file participants assess their gains from membership and participatory action?

The dominant preoccupation of research on programmes is evaluative. The central problem is that of establishing the evaluative criteria, since there may not be a coincidence of what is good for the poor and what is good for the government or programme sponsor.

5. Participation as policy contributing to national development

The issue of popular participation can be viewed as identical with the issue of "democracy" in its broadest sense. Today, few governments would formally reject the principles of democracy in favour of more elitist principles of government. Most governments do permit a certain area of formal participation, and some which look to the popular classes for sup-

port explicitly promote active mass participation as a central feature of the polity. However, active participation by the majority is often considered as impractical by the elite, or even as a danger to political stability and a threat to the prevailing distribution of power and wealth. The "excluded" then seek to defend their views and interests through spontaneous social movements outside existing institutions, parties, and organizations. They may be successful at the local level, but are often unable to confront power holders and alliances at the macro-level.

In fact, there is an open frontier for increased participation in all societies and the main forces of most popular and emancipatory movements, however small, are deployed along it, or are seeking it out.

It may be argued that many of the official organs of participation are diversionary or cooptative, but historical experience may well show that structural transformations are illusory unless the habits of self-management, self-reliance, and institutional participation in relatively complicated administrative arrangements have been acquired and practiced. This long-term learning process takes place in the day-to-day struggle for authentic participation in deficient yet protective institutions. And where the masses have no opportunity to learn participatory organization, episodes of mass mobilization and revolutionary transformation may end by being submitted to new anti-participatory structures of exclusion.

Some governments have adopted the principle of popular or mass participation as an explicit and central feature of policy, expressed in new institutions, programmes, laws, and public ideology. Seeking support from popular classes, they have attempted to undertake their mobilization as a force for development. Special attempts should be made to assess these experiences and analyze their achievements and failures. New types of democratic institutions, combining mass participation with central guidance and discipline, have usually been introduced, but such attempts at introducing procedures of direct democratic participation often fall prey to new constraints and generate new forms of power monopolization. When studying participation as a declared national policy, the

researcher must keep in mind that a declared policy represents the official and temporary resolution of conflicts and contradictions among different forces. Since these forces are diverse, the policies they support may present an inconsistent ensemble and their practical implementation may lack coherence. It is important to analyze what elements support which part of the policy to obtain a better understanding of the possibilities and the limits of popular participation.

Traditional versus participatory research

Research—the systematic documentation and analysis of participatory situations and experiences—can provide new insight and knowledge about participatory development processes. But how can research become a means to promote those social values implied in the quest for increased participation and to support the social forces furthering this end? How can a programme of research be designed to support such forces without providing their powerful opponents with the information and knowledge that can be used to crush them?

Hitherto accepted research practices have been strongly attacked by the protagonists of "action-research" or "participatory research". In particular, they warn that established research institutions and their diffusion channels fit into the existing pattern of class relations in such a way that the primary beneficiaries are the middle-strata research workers and "developers", while research results facilitate government and bureaucratic manipulation of the "popular" classes without directly contributing to development as interpreted by the latter. Participatory research assumes that through its very method, research can itself become a tool for participatory development, as the interaction between researcher and researched in a common process of learning leads to an irreversible process of education and conscientization of the members of the participatory groups that are involved.

In practice, no clear dividing line can be drawn between action-research and participatory research. Both are highly vulnerable to the precarious situations in which the "excluded" find themselves, and probably to the optimistic illusions of the

practitioners. National and local power structures are not usually disposed to tolerate "conscientization" once it comes to their notice, and the consequences for the group are likely to be more serious than for the practitioner, who can usually escape to another setting.

Methods and organization of the inquiry

The present inquiry attempts to advance the cause of increased popular participation by promoting dialogue or debate on the theory and practice of popular participation: theory is coupled with practice as a central axis of the method to be adopted.

The debate calls for *research* on participation—i.e., it requires systematically obtained and verified data on situations in which popular participation is being struggled for with or without success; in which it is achieved and institutionalized; and on the ways in which, once achieved and institutionalized, it contributes to certain development goals or fails to do so, and why. But with equal urgency the debate requires *basework*, the practical extension of research to the field and the application of its results at the grass-root level; it is through basework that research will receive the political and existential impulses which come directly from the flesh and blood experiences of participatory movements and institutions and the situations in which they are generated and have their being. It is out of these two components, research and basework, that the *debate* takes place as a prolonged act of reflection, and succeeds in its task of enlightenment as it arrives at new general conclusions and explanations, as a basis for the formulation of policy; and in this sense it is said to be about the "theory and practice" of participation. Research, basework, and debate are thus seen as separate but linked areas of activity.

The debate

Extensive research has already been carried out on the issue of participation, and by now the gaps in knowledge appear to be less serious a shortcoming than the limited and erratic diffu-

sion of the findings of such research. Systematic debates among investigators, decision makers, and popular groups themselves may offer a promising way forward.

The content of our Programme is thus the persistent diffusion for debate of empirically based knowledge of the theory and practice of popular participation among a wide range of social scientists, policy makers, activists, theoreticians, and members of social movements. Our debate opened with the circulation in the summer of 1979 of a first conceptual and theoretical Programme document to some 150 friends, colleagues and potential collaborators. It has rapidly developed since, fed by new insights won in the course of UNRISD-sponsored research or the experience of "debaters". Within a year, the number of debaters had increased to 435, and at present some 680 people are involved in it. The geographical breakdown of these "debaters" reflects the concentration of field activities in Latin America and Asia, the strong participation of researchers living in Europe and North America, and the absence of work so far in Africa (Asia, 12%; Central and South America, 20%; Eastern and Western Europe, 43%; North America, 17%; Africa, 3%).

Since 1980, this central debate has been supplemented by a number of sub-debates, focusing on crucial issues studied in empirical field research and emerging out of basework. A coordinator has been appointed for each sub-debate, usually the person in charge of the field project on which the specific sub-debate issue is focusing. It forces researchers and participants in social movements to reflect on their experience at a higher theoretical level and allows them to test it in dialogue with similar experiences carried out in other regions and countries and under other auspices.

Practically, the debate is carried by a regular publication—*Dialogue about participation*—which so far appears in English and Spanish.

Basework and research

The basework is founded on the assumption that middle-strata action, and more particularly research, may make a

positive contribution to situations in which participatory institutions function or where participatory ends are being pursued.

The commitment to basework raises the important issue of language. So far *Dialogue* is published in English and Spanish, and we are exploring possibilities for a French version. But are there not cultural situations or important potential groups of debaters waiting for *Dialogue* to be available in their own language rather than in English, Spanish, or French—for example, in what may be called subordinated languages such as, in Latin America, Purepecheé, Quechua, or Tupi-Guaraní? These are the primary means of communication for large numbers of monolingual participators and there are movements to stipulate the use of these languages in school and adult education. The subordination of these languages has been for centuries one of the most powerful of the structures of domination manipulated within the Latin American colonial and post-colonial systems. What are the issues involved and what is their bearing on contemporary participatory movements?

Research may be welcomed by participatory movements if it helps them to see themselves, to understand their social identity, to become aware of their relationship to more distinct social relations affecting them, and to analyze their own problems of organization, the motivation of individuals, the development of ethnic and class consciousness, family patterns of mobility, individual and family accumulation, and the potentialities of shared capitalization at the larger-than-family level.

Research must also be applied to the problems of lateral communication—that is to say, direct interchange between peripheral movements and loci that does not need to be mediated by urban or metropolitan agents.

Power to the periphery: the decentralization of the Programme

Great importance has been given to participatory research methods and techniques where feasible. An attempt has also

been made to reflect the participatory approach in the very organization of the Programme. The latter has gradually evolved as a result of impulses and suggestions received through the debate. It has increasingly moved away from the traditional UN research model, with power concentrated in the Programme's central offices in Geneva and England, towards a situation in which the motors of the programme operate more strongly from the periphery than from the center—i.e., from some of the vigorous research centers now appearing that are attuned to local and national development needs in a critical spirit, and which already have an involvement in basework with participatory movements while being committed to social analysis and imaginative synthesis with full rigour. The "peripheral" institutions, individual scholars, scientists, activists, and officials in their individual roles within these landscapes, and the participatory movements themselves, are the creative forces with which we have entered into rapport, finding appropriate forms of interaction and alliance and serving as a universal link.

As a result, the Participation Programme was radically reorganized in early 1981 on a highly decentralized and participatory basis, with collective decision-making bodies being established at the regional and global levels (Central Core Group, Regional Core Groups).

The field studies

The translation of general questions on participation into precise researchable issues relevant to ongoing development processes was the subject of a series of meetings (Oxford, 1980; Bogota, Bombay, Bangkok, and Managua, 1981). Key issues were selected for investigation. The criteria for choosing these issues were their relevance for helping those persons and groups involved in the promotion of social change to better understand how democratic participation is enhanced or restricted both at national and local levels, and how it might be improved. While the general questions raised at the beginning of the Programme had global validity, the precise issues and

problems for research in the field differed considerably in accordance with different levels of social and economic development, different types of regimes, and different cultural and ideological backgrounds. The Programme was therefore divided into regional sub-programmes. There was an initial concentration of work in Latin America and the Caribbean, and to a lesser extent in Asia. This was mainly due to the availability of project funds for research in these regions. The need to acquire experience and a lack of funds have made it advisable not to undertake research in other parts of the world at this time.

In Latin America we started with the general assumption, open to verification, that despite widespread authoritarianism, the present stage of development offers favourable conditions for the promotion of social movements as a form of expression of popular demands and participation in society. Until the end of the Second World War, during a populist period, social movements were highly dependent on the state. The post-war period of formal democracy provided the conditions for the emergence of social movements, influenced by political parties that mediated between these movements and the state. In the present state of widespread authoritarianism, many political parties and former social movements dependent on them or the state have been repressed. But despite political restriction, opportunities for the promotion of new, more autonomous social movements have arisen to defend popular interests that neither the state nor political parties are any longer willing or able to represent adequately. The central focus of the regional Latin American programme is thus to analyze the significance of these social movements as an expression of popular participation, their capacity to determine the course of political events through their influence on civil society, and the conditions that allow them to improve the terms of their incorporation into the larger society.

An attempt has been made to study the emergence and viability of such social movements by focusing on particularly relevant national experiences. In Colombia, attempts have been made to analyze the experiences of a peasant movement that despite internal contradictions and divisions has grown rapidly since the 1960s. In Bolivia, the ethnic dynamic has been

studied, particularly in so far as it emerges from within the peasant movement as a means of counteracting authoritarian conditions and of opening up perspectives which extend beyond the indigenous group to class, popular, and national levels. These two countries also provide an initial setting for our studies on the importance of collective memory as an "ideological" basis for popular organization among members of Andean social movements. In Brazil, attention has focused on urban social movements, especially in the shanty-towns, and their interactions with the organized labour movement. Popular activity together with the church support of popular aspirations make this an interesting theme for analysis. In Argentina, the research looks at the role of women in social movements arising mainly in the shanty-towns of Buenos Aires. In Chile, attention is directed to unions and the new social, economic, and political functions they have to assume under the present authoritarian regime.[3] In Guyana, the study has examined worker-management relations in the bauxite industry before and after its nationalization.[4] In Mexico, the focus is on the interaction between the state and popular movements. Since the 1910 Revolution the state has apparently been able to exert considerable control over social movements, particularly among the peasantry, through economic and ideological rather than repressive means. The study examines to what extent this has been effective, how it has been done, and what effects it has had on popular participation. In Nicaragua, the research looks at social movements within the context of a post-revolutionary situation in which the state is attempting to institutionalize participatory forms of organization. In Peru, social movements together with some political parties seem to be converging towards a kind of "popular movement". Peruvian popular initiatives now take place in a

[3] A previous study has examined workers' participation in pre-1973 Chile. See Manuel Barrera, *Worker participation in company management in Chile: a historical experience*, Report no. 81.3, UNRISD, Geneva, 1981, vi-25 p.

[4] See Odida T. Quamina, *The social organization of Plantation Mackenzie: an account of life in the Guyana Mining Enterprises*, Report no. 81.4, UNRISD, Geneva, 1981.

context of formal democracy. These initiatives were promoted during the decade after 1967 by a populist military government. As in Nicaragua, and to a certain extent in Mexico, Peru offers a good opportunity for an historical analysis of the role of the state in institutionalizing, promoting, and/or controlling social movements, parties, and other forms of expression of popular demands.

Actual field research started in some countries in late 1980, in others in the course of 1981—delayed as a result of the death of the former Co-director of the Programme, Andrew Pearse—and in Argentina, Mexico, and Nicaragua in late 1981/early 1982.

In the course of the field work carried out in 1981, participants in the regional debate noted that social movements among residents of shanty-towns seem to grow extremely rapidly when they are in contact with popular movements, such as dynamic industrial unions. Political parties may also play a catalytic role in merging isolated social movements into widespread popular ones. These distinctions between social movements and popular movements should be investigated and defined with more precision. The programme's hypothesis is that the "long march"[5] from the rural village to the urban union implies a convergence of social movements at different stages of development. Experiences of popular movements in Bolivia and Nicaragua suggest that a popular movement may be able simultaneously to express both national and, through consensus and legitimacy, popular aspirations.

A seminar organized in the summer of 1982 in Mexico in collaboration with the Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales del Tercer Mundo (CEESTEM) allowed a first summing up of the different research and sub-debate experiences. The central importance of the study of social movements, and their possible convergence into a widespread popular movement, eventually at the national level, was confirmed. The role that intellectuals organized in research and development institutions

[5] See the editorial in *Dialogue about participation, 1*, UNRISD/81/C.17, Geneva, June 1981, pp. 1-15.

play in this respect has also been stressed as an important topic for further investigation.[6]

As regards Asia, progress in conceptualizing participation issues in terms specifically relevant to the Asian scene has been slower. This has been in part due to a lack of funds. Lack of resources has made it impossible as yet to expand the initial research undertaken in India, Thailand, and China into a coherent regional programme. A first meeting was organized in Bombay in the spring of 1981, followed by a second informal meeting in Bangkok in autumn 1981.

The discussion in Bombay clearly showed that it was not possible to replicate the Latin American model in Asia. The Asian situation is profoundly different, particularly with regard to the influence of traditional ideologies on problems of social relations. They determine to a considerable extent the parameters within which popular participation is feasible, at least in the short term, and cannot be relegated, in a Marxian sense, to a "superstructural" level of secondary importance in shaping social relations.

It also appeared that regional differences within Asia regarding the possibilities for popular participation are very pronounced. Participants at the expert meeting therefore defined three sub-programmes: one for South Asia, one for Southeast Asia, and one for the socialist states of East Asia. (Japan and the Near East have been excluded from consideration.) The relative mix of ideology, coercion, and rewards employed by the state (and dominant social forces in each society) varies considerably among these three sub-regions, as do the means and strategies used by popular groups to increase their participation.[7]

In 1983 a major overview of the Programme's results will be initiated, and it is planned to organize a global workshop involving all main participants in the Programme's various activities.

[6] For a more detailed discussion of the development of the regional programme in Latin America, see *Dialogue about participation, 2*, UNRISD/82/C.6, Geneva, April 1982, 150 p.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of the programme's ongoing and planned activities in Asia, see *Dialogue about participation, 3*, to be published in January 1983.

Participation and evaluation

Most evaluations involve, of necessity, some degree of participation. In the participatory approach, participation is sought at each stage of the evaluation. Not simply at the beginning, but also from the selection and application of methods for collecting various types of data through to analysis and action based on the findings.

Unfortunately, genuine participation in evaluation is as yet rare. Rather, it is more common to find partial participation of various kinds, as if there were a continuum with passive participation at one end, and active at the other. This can best be understood if we look at the following four examples.

1. The "study of specimens" approach

Programme participants are expected to play a *minimal* part in the evaluation study. Following a brief explanation of the study's objectives, the participants agree to be counted, examined, and even questioned. The concept of greater participation is thought to interfere with the quest for "fully scientific results". These results are then removed from the area for analysis. There is *no feedback* of findings to participants—neither do they expect it.

2. The "protection of minors" approach

Following *partial explanation* of the study objectives, participants answer questionnaires, are involved to some extent in an analysis of the data and in various other evaluation procedures. They receive a *limited feedback* of evaluation findings, carefully screened and considered appropriate by the initiators of the evaluation—who are not the participants themselves.

3. The "adolescent participation" approach

Programme participants collaborate in the initiation of the study and in the selection of objectives and methodology. They participate in analytic exercises and in the concluding of the study, and have a

Excerpted from Marie-Thérèse Feuerstein, Participatory evaluation—an appropriate technology for community health programmes, *Contact*, no. 55, Christian Medical Commission, Geneva, February 1980, p. 3.

part in the dissemination and utilization of the results. But there are no adequate procedures built into their programme for ongoing or periodic evaluation and the participants are *still overreliant* on external help if they wish to conduct a future study.

4. The "full or active participation" approach

Participants collaborate in the initiation of the study and the selection of objectives and methods to be used in collecting and analyzing specific data. Where ongoing evaluation procedures are not already existent, they are built into the programme as part of the evaluation process. Participants have *priority in decision making* regarding the implementation and dissemination of findings. Participants may then require minimal help in initiating and carrying out future evaluation studies.

Distinctions between three types of research process

Steps in research	Choice of problem	Choice of methodology	Choice of outcome
Academic research			
What?	Choice based on the interest and discipline of the professional researcher	Experimental research designs, use of reliable instruments, statistical analysis	Publications (presentations in "learned" seminars)
Who?	Professional researcher	Professional researcher	Professional researcher
Policy/evaluation research (commissioned)			
What?	Choice based on client's administrative needs	Quasi-experimental field research designs, use of reliable instruments, statistical analysis	• Report (to the client) • Publication (if the researcher negotiates)
Who?	Client (who is outside the problem area)	Professional researcher	Client (primarily)
Participatory research			
What?	Choice based on immediate problem situation	Consensual-validity-based research designs, use of empathic instruments, multiple analysis methods	• Changes in the situation • Increased knowledge base • Increased capacity among actors to inquire into and change their situations
Who?	Jointly by the actors in the problem situation and professional researcher	Jointly by the actors and the professional researcher	Jointly by the actors and the professional researcher

Excerpted from Rajesh Tandon, Participatory evaluation and research: main concepts and issues, in Walter Fernandes and Rajesh Tandon, eds., *Participatory research and evaluation, experiments in research as a process of liberation,* Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1981, p. 22.

Experiences to be shared

- Meeting of interest
- An annotated index of previous articles on community participation
- Selective bibliography
- Focus on two books
- Book reviews

Meeting of interest

International Seminar on Popular Participation
Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 17-25 May 1982

Policies and Resources Planning Division
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From 17-25 May 1982, delegates from 37 countries and 10 United Nations agencies gathered in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, for an International Seminar on Popular Participation. The seminar was sponsored by the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development and was locally organized by the Yugoslav Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management Edvard Kardelj. The meeting was called pursuant to the General Assembly Resolution 34/152 of 17 December 1979 which called upon the Secretary General, *inter alia*, to organize "an international seminar to compare policies, institutions and experiences of Member States in the participation of all sectors of society in their economic and social development, as well as collective bargaining, workers' participation in management, and workers' self-management".

The major topics of discussion

- Overall national approaches to popular participation;
- popular participation in planning, and structures for popular participation;
- popular participation and implications for public administration;

- popular participation in socialist self-managing Yugoslavia;
- popular participation and rural development—their importance and mechanisms for promotion;
- sectoral concerns and information;
- women's participation in Yugoslavia and elsewhere;
- role of United Nations agencies in promoting popular participation.

The most important issues and concerns

- The *rhetoric of participation* is universal, regardless of whether a self-proclaimed socialist, capitalist, or distinctive system is being described. This means that a detailed explanation and spelling out of exactly what one means by "popular participation" and how it is implemented—in real terms—takes on great importance.

- For the purposes of the Seminar, it was agreed to use the definition indicated in the ECOSOC Resolution 1929 (LVIII) which *inter alia* calls for populations to be involved in development efforts, sharing equitably in the benefits derived therefrom and in the decisions in respect of setting goals, formulating policies, and planning and implementing economic and social development programmes. This definition notwithstanding, the discussion reflected *a rather narrow range of experience* with participation, wherein the major emphasis was placed on the community's implementation of projects. In fact, one participant, in describing his country's commitment to participation, said that "after the detailed programmes have been well planned, we tell the people exactly what to do so they will understand their responsibility to participate".

- *Education, information, and organization* were recognized as critical supports to popular participation: education to quicken the spirit; information to feed the mind; organization to gain courage, strength, and ideas for problem solving. The result: participation in decision making and action.

- *Bureaucracy, and some of its characteristics*—centralized control, universality (if not appropriateness) in the application of rules and regulations, schedules set by time intervals rather than group or project need, etc.—were recognized as obstacles to participation.

- There is increasing talk about decentralization, which was pointed out as being conducive to greater popular participation. On the other hand, a delegate reminded the group that *administrative decentralization without simultaneous decentralization of resource control is an empty gesture.* A contrast was made between decentralization which is simply the local implementation of centralized administrative responsibility (the usual form of decentralization), and that which is a true shift of control and decision-making functions away from the center and toward an intermediate or local level.

- The issue of *participation and women* is a complicated one, and views varied enormously according to the cultural-traditional-religious environment.

- Regardless of the range of opinion on other aspects of this issue, however, there was near unanimity on the necessity to have *economic activities and child care* developed as companion pieces.

- There was some discussion of *trade unions and workers' participation* in management. The emphasis was on the importance of the legal right to free association as the foundation of any effective union activity.

- From a West European country with considerable experience in worker participation came the information that workers have come to the conclusion that the *control of management is considerably more important than a "voice" in the selection of management.*

- The *universality of some problems* was demonstrated by the frequency with which they were mentioned: the motivation of community people for participation, the need for prompt response to community initiatives, the danger of government arousing expectations which cannot be met if community self-help efforts are "too successful" (for example, more com-

munities build schools than the government can support), the difficulty of combining "bottom-up" approaches with "top-down", the importance of education to effective participation.

- An important theme was that *building participatory practices and institutions is a dynamic, evolving process* in response to national needs and ideals; popular skills and understanding; and the local, national, and international environment (social, political, and economic). Participatory approaches cannot be legislated or adopted overnight. They must grow over time with experience, practice, need, and most important, with an ongoing evaluation and analysis of successes and failures.

An annotated index

92 articles on community participation published from 1976 to 1982 in *Assignment Children*

An annotated index

In the Third World, successful social development programmes in which community participation is a vital component are no longer limited to a few scattered experiments launched by small NGOs—which grow in strength around a charismatic leader, function independently of all governmental services, and then quietly wither away after a few years.

Since 1976, in answer to a felt need, *Assignment Children* has consistently sought out innovative projects or programmes that were based on community participation. The result has been the publication of 22 articles dealing with global or sectoral issues and 70 case studies—27 in Asia, 22 in Latin America, and 21 in Africa. These are presented in this annotated index, briefly summarized if published in English, simply listed if published in French or Spanish only.*

Over three-fourths of the social development programmes described in the selected case studies are government-initiated. And of the one-fourth which are NGO-related, half are government-supported or at least implemented in cooperation with government services. Two other facets are also worth mentioning: *(1)* three-fourths of the case studies have been written by nationals—either senior government officials or programme staff often associated with a university or a research center—and only one-fourth by foreign experts working in the country; *(2)* no less than one-third of the case studies

* The different papers on critical issues and lessons learned in community participation which compose this issue of *Assignment Children*, no. 59/60, 2/1982, are not included in this index.

have been written by women, and half a dozen more are co-signed with women.

These 70 case studies have been organized under nine headings: Primary health care — Nutrition — The young child — Prevention and care of disabilities in children — Education — Water and sanitation — Women's self-help efforts — Basic services in rural areas — and Basic services in urban poor areas.

Their analysis points to the diversity of the situations in which community-based programmes have evolved, and the diversity of the meanings attributed to such general notions as community participation or political will. They demonstrate that there is no universal approach nor a single theoretical model for the initiation, development, implementation, and acceptance of large-scale community-based and cost-effective programmes benefiting women and children in the poorest population groups.

Global and sectoral issues

22 articles on new policies and trends in basic services, PHC, nutrition, water supply, research, education, human settlements, and rehabilitation

GORDON CARTER, The implications of basic services, no. 41, 1978, pp. 16-27.

Objective of basic services strategy: satisfy the essential needs of those living in underserved areas through self-reliance, popular participation, auxiliary community workers, and intermediate technologies. On the basis of UNICEF's experiences in supporting basic services projects, discussion of some major implications at local governmental and external aid levels. Required for implementation: recognition of and support for people's initiatives; awareness of the

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effects of local power systems, whether traditional or modern; interministerial cooperation; decentralization; and reallocation of resources to remote areas and to slums. One constraint is government fear of loss of control over population. As for external aid, basic services programmes less amenable to the efficiency, accountability, and fast results desired by donors. Increased understanding of process of long-term development required. The pay-off for these important structural changes: the provision of services to entire population at an affordable cost, and greater population support.

For greater detail on the basic services strategy itself, see *A strategy for basic services*, UNICEF, New York, 1977, or Une stratégie pour des services de base, *Carnets de l'enfance*, n° 37, UNICEF, Genève, 1977 (available also in Spanish and Portuguese).

LOUIS EMMERIJ, Facts and fallacies concerning the basic needs approach, no. 41, 1978, pp. 28-40.

Between 1974 and 1976, publication of a number of reports recommending an alternative development strategy: *The Declaration of Cocoyoc, What now—another development, Employment, growth and basic needs: a one-world problem, Catastrophe or new society—a Latin American world model, Reshaping the international order, A strategy for basic services, Alternative approaches to meeting basic health needs in developing countries.* Discussion of their common traits—among them popular participation—and of facts and fallacies concerning the basic needs approach.

UNICEF/EADI, Workshop on basic-needs-oriented development strategies and services, Some fundamental issues in participation and planning, a report by the Working Groups, no. 41, 1978, pp. 55-64.

Three working groups addressed the following questions:

- Who has identified in practice the basic needs of whom and how? How can the needs of underprivileged groups be better recognized and taken into account?
- How can increased participation by underprivileged groups be brought about in decision making and implementation at the local level (models and components thereof, conditions, constraints)?

- How can governments respond to expressed needs in planning, administration and implementation with a high level of participation?

SOEDJATMOKO, The child in development planning, no. 47/48, 1979, pp. 52-78.

Addresses the question of the place that should be given to the situation of children in planning. Examines the community-based services and basic needs approaches as two recent approaches to alleviating poverty. Represent best alternatives for improving conditions. Analyzes problems of implementation: initial geographical concentration, implementing services perceived as useful by the population, need to reorient government personnel, need for government and aid agencies to modify measures of performance, and selection and training of village auxiliaries. Focus needed on health care and nutrition supplementation, coupled with early childhood education. Examination of such experiments reveals importance of educating mothers, developing labour-saving devices to increase time for interaction with children. Also important: income-generating activities for mothers, reduction of demands for child labour.

HALFDAN MAHLER, The challenge of health care: fresh approaches, no. 33, 1976, pp. 9-16.

For majority of people living in disadvantaged areas of the world, no access to modern health care. Evolution of alternative approach to delivery of health services: primary health care. Its features: use of health workers resident in each community, closely linked to other aspects of community development; reorientation of health services towards support of primary health care; active involvement of the community and maximum utilization of existing resources. Emphasis on mother as health care agent within her family. Ways of maximizing local resources: training of traditional birth attendants to meet needs during pregnancy and child birth; training of women's groups, teachers, etc. to participate in identification of health problems and use of simple methods of care, such as oral rehydration in cases of diarrhoea.

MANZOOR AHMED, Community participation, the heart of Primary Health Care, no. 42, 1978, pp. 80-99.

Describes essential features of community participation within successful PHC programmes, the obstacles to be overcome, and the basic elements of a strategy to initiate and enhance community participation. Devised modes and mechanisms of participation must ensure that the vital interests of the needy and the weakest in the community are taken into account. Need to use educational process to prepare population for self-help and to convey health-promoting information. Cooperation with voluntary organizations in organizing innovative projects and ensuring participation of disadvantaged. Examination of ways in which external assistance agencies can enhance effectiveness of community participation.

CARL E. TAYLOR, Reorientation of health personnel to meet the people's needs, no. 42, 1978, pp. 67-79.

Discusses ways in which health systems need to be reoriented towards total support of PHC workers. Recognition that the latter are most influencial on health status of population. Need for health personnel and communities to redefine together a new balance between the roles of various categories of workers. Freeing of doctors for training, supervision, and the care of the 10% of cases referred to them by middle-level personnel and PHC workers. Shift in attitude required on part of health professionals, towards greater receptiveness to local needs and decisions.

K. ZAKI HASAN, Child mental health in primary health care, no. 47/48, 1979, pp. 91-101.

In developing countries, highly specialized health care ineffective for prevention and care of large majority of mental disorders. Need for simple prevention and treatment systems, and an approach in keeping with local specificities. Major impact possible through PHC and training of teachers and traditional midwives, both in terms of prevention and treatment. In an Annex, an outline of specific actions which can be easily organized by a non-psychiatric service and carried out by community workers to prevent and relieve mental disorders.

IVAN BEGHIN, Improving nutrition at the local level, no. 35, 1976, pp. 9-24.

Fundamental cause of malnutrition attributed to social system. Effectiveness of conventional nutrition intervention programmes, while beneficial, limited by the macro factors responsible for malnutrition. Community participation must therefore be seen as conscientization, crucial component in nutrition programmes as means of breaking dependency pattern. However, a minimum of political will to allow changes is necessary. Analysis of some of the constraints and choices to be made in local interventions. Discussion of practical aspects of various approaches to improving nutrition at the local level. All are valid starting points, provided community organization and action are the goal.

ANNE WHYTE, Towards a user-choice philosophy in rural water supply programmes, no. 34, 1976, pp. 28-45.

Introduction of rural water project seen not only as introduction of new techniques, but also of new concepts about the relation of water to health and disease, and new forms of community organization. Acceptance by rural populations of such profound changes possible only if real advantages are perceived. Failure of innumerable water supply projects due to non-recognition of importance of such a self-determined process. Suggestions for the design of user-choice systems, in which users decide whether new system to be installed, and if so, which type, in keeping with existing social structures and socio-cultural values.

UNICEF/WHO SECRETARIATS, Water supply and sanitation for all, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 17-37.

Upon request of UNICEF/WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy, extensive country case studies requested from Bangladesh, Colombia, Ghana, India, Nepal, and the Philippines. On the basis of these studies and other documented experiences, major issues in water supply and sanitation identified and discussed in the areas of policy, community participation, institutional infrastructure, education, personnel, technology, and maintenance. Outline of the new approach needed if water to be accessible to all.

MARY RACELIS HOLLNSTEINER, The unwashed urban multitudes—water scarcity in slums and shanty-towns, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 79-92.

Description of the meaning of water scarcity for urban slum dwellers, faced with daily struggle to obtain even minimal amounts for drinking, cooking, cleaning, and washing. Most acutely affected are women and children. Requirements for successful water supply programmes: adequate time to work out solutions with local population, clear lines of responsibility in management of water supply system, reformulation of bureaucratic rules in terms of traditional community patterns.

DAVID DONALDSON, Rural water supply in Latin America—organizational and financial aspects, no. 34, 1976, pp. 46-57.

Description of the three types of rural water supply programmes implemented by Latin American countries following the signing of Charter of Punta del Este in 1961, establishing goal of bringing potable water to 50% of rural populations. In "rurban" programmes, strong community participation in development, construction, administration, and financing of local systems through locally elected water board, with technical and financial advice and assistance from central programme. Some 20% of initial costs covered by community, and collection of water rates thereafter by local board to cover maintenance. For easy replication, need to develop "package" for more rapid promotion, design, and administration of community-run systems on a wide scale.

TED JACKSON and the Participatory Research Project Team, Rural sanitation technology: lessons from participatory research, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 51-74.

In contrast to control by engineers of water supply and sanitation technology, as is often the case, analysis of possible applications of participatory research approach to water and sanitation programmes. Discussion of implications of community participation in development. Fundamental: a new distribution of knowledge and the local production of appropriate technology. Also important if even the most powerless and poor are to be involved: community dialogues, including the local elite, on class structure and its relationship to sanitation.

ANISUR RAHMAN, A methodology for participatory research with the rural poor, no. 41, 1978, pp. 110-124.

Participation considered as a basic human need. Seen as critical in defining priorities, particularly in situations of limited resources; also critical in reducing dependence on privileged groups. Cites some of the experiences in participatory organizations among rural poor, calling for their systematic study through participatory research. Listing of 17 issues to illustrate the nature of the inquiry proposed. Basic characteristics of participatory action: based on the poor's own perceptions, evaluation by and for those concerned. Characteristics of action research for self-reliance: methodology for discovering latent potentials, nurturing the creativity of organized groups, introducing conscientization process.

MANZOOR AHMED, Mobilizing human resources: the role of non-formal education, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 21-40.

Greatest human resource challenge: unleashing people's creative energy, raising their awareness of potential of collective efforts, helping them to organize for self-help and self-reliance. Primary concern thus is providing entire population with necessary skills to meet its basic needs. Analysis of fundamental issues in human resource development, and description of major uses made of non-formal approaches to education as means of reaching those still left outside of formal systems. Included are the use of schools as community learning centers and the educational components of basic services programmes in preparation for community management and implementation of such services. A prerequisite for successful non-formal education programmes: strong participatory institutions at the local level within a decentralized administrative structure.

MARY RACELIS HOLLNSTEINER, People power: community participation in the planning of human settlements, no. 40, 1977, pp. 11-47.

Urban planning often considered too complex for populations to understand. To the contrary, through popular participation, avoidance possible of common planning errors of technocrats, who have but vague knowledge of conditions of the underprivileged. Analysis of six modes of participation, on a continuum from rubber-stamping of

outside-planned programmes by a local elite or educated "solid citizen" group appointed by external authorities, to community majority on decision-making boards, control over the expenditure of funds, selection of its own technicians-planners to assist it as advocates, and effective grass-root policy making. Popular expression of needs often seen by administrators as defiance of authority. Fundamental change of attitude needed on both sides. Discussion of steps which can encourage popular participation in housing and neighbourhood management, and of training needs of both population and management personnel.

MARY RACELIS HOLLNSTEINER, Government strategies for urban areas and community participation, no. 57/58, 1982, pp. 43-64.

Increased realization by governments that the expanding phenomenon of urban slums and shanty-towns requires rapid action. Government policies in this area range from reduction of urban migration to site-and-service projects. Constraints in development of programmes for urban poor: complexity of municipal governments, frequent changes in development approaches with changes in government, lack of trained personnel, dearth of urban social policies and planning measures. Difficulties also in organizing community participation due to lack of stable cohesive groups in many areas, and lack of dialogue between government officials and population. Need for process of community organization for self-reliance to be better understood. Discussion of strategies for community organization: project approach versus process of liberation from dependency.

REHABILITATION INTERNATIONAL, Childhood disability: its prevention and rehabilitation, no. 53/54, 1981, pp. 43-75.

An estimated 190 million disabled children by year 2000. In Third World, little or nothing done in prevention. Suggestion of guidelines for action. The conceptual base: the escalation from impairment to disability and then to handicap can be prevented. Fostering a normal child development process in the family, community, and society is of prime importance. Most important instrument for implementation is family. Help possible for over 80% of disabled through simple techniques. Front line of prevention: community health personnel and improved health services, better nutritional practices, informed families and communities. Emphasis to be placed on development of working

models of community-based services through in-depth study of relevant projects, experimentation. Need for training of personnel from national planners and administrators to community-level workers.

MAHFOUD BOUCEBCI and MARIE-THÉRÈSE BRAU, Training specialized staff for the mentally handicapped, no. 53/54, 1981, pp. 105-114.

In view of urgency of need for staff trained in the care of the mentally handicapped, suggest guidelines for recruitment for on-the-job training as means of responding immediately to existing needs. Emphasis on development of training programme in relation to existing formal specialized training in order to avoid staff conflicts, with equal opportunities for promotion. Suggestions as to content of training, with emphasis on integration of the handicapped into society.

Published only in Spanish:

DAVID MORLEY, *Hospitales involucrados en la salud de la comunidad*, no. 33, 1976, pp. 52-67.

(English summary p. 123; French summary p. 120)

ANNE-MARIE RAIMBAULT, *La salud en los pueblos*, no. 32, 1975, pp. 50-63.

(English summary p. 103; French summary p. 101)

Innovative approaches

70 case studies

Primary health care 6 case studies

ZAFRULLAH CHOWDHURY, The mother and child in Bangladesh: a view from the People's Health Centre (Gonoshasthaya Kendra), no. 33, 1976, pp. 68-77.

Begun in 1972, is now a well-known project started as an extension of a hospital to a rural area. Training of paramedics (primarily women) to provide health services and perform sterilizations, initiation of medical insurance scheme to finance health care. Improvement of nutrition through paraprofessional agricultural development workers. Vocational training for women to provide greater economic independence.

K. ZAKI HASAN, The rural Health Guards in the northern areas of Pakistan—a preliminary evaluation, no. 33, 1976, pp. 78-87.

Describes replacement of traditional medicine by imported Western model, totally inadequate to meet the health needs of the majority. Launching of experimental project in isolated area with population of 187 000. Training of 590 female and 898 male health workers chosen by their communities to provide PHC and carry out vaccination campaigns, as a team. Administration of 70 000 BCG vaccines, and inoculation of 15 000 children against DPT and polio between February 1974 and September 1975.

P. M. SHAH, Community participation and nutrition—the Kasa project in India, no. 35, 1976, pp. 53-71.

In the aim of developing an alternative model of integrated health and nutrition services in rural areas, in 1974, government decision to launch Kasa project north of Bombay, among population of 75 000. Choice of part-time social workers by the communities to provide link

between government primary health clinic and isolated villages. Multipurpose workers carry out monthly surveillance of women and children, refer those at risk to medical officer or auxiliary nurse midwife, provide supplementary foods, immunization, family planning information, and, with help of other villagers, nutrition education and chlorination of wells. Results reveal that aptitude to learn and motivation more important than educational level. Turnover in part-time social workers less important when community has understood purpose of work, and trust already established with government health center. System has now been replicated in other parts of the country.

SOMBOON VACHROTAI, The Lampang Project, an alternative approach to rural health care in Thailand, no. 33, 1976, pp. 88-96.

Reorganization by the government of its existing health care system in Lampang province, in order to better reach the rural areas. Expansion of staff through addition of paraphysicians to health centers (poorly attended in the past), with communicators and health post volunteers for simple health care at village level to overcome gap between villagers and government services. System feeds into provincial hospital. Training of traditional midwives. Long-term objective: expand this integrated infrastructure to entire country. Village advisory committees set up to participate in health planning, personnel selection, and management decisions.

Published only in French:

MARIT KROMBERG et N. N. MASHALABA, *La formation des monitrices en mieux-être familial au Botswana*, no. 33, 1976, pp. 97-108.

(English summary p. 124; Spanish summary p. 128)

ERIC R. RAM, *Des services de santé intégrés, le projet Miraj en Inde*, no. 39, 1977, pp. 15-32.

(English summary p. 122; Spanish summary p. 125)

Nutrition 9 case studies

ROBERT J. LEDOGAR, Food and survival in Lusaka's self-help townships, no. 43, 1978, pp. 57-62.

Food self-sufficiency established as government goal. In a low-income township, launching of a pilot project to increase urban agricultural output. Use of municipal land around community centers, schools, and railways. Project to become Urban Agriculture and Nutrition Service providing capital for small loans, technical assistance, agricultural training, nutrition education, and help for community cooperatives.

ERIC R. RAM and VASANT M. HOLKAR, A community kitchen in the Kamanves slum, India, no. 43, 1978, pp. 47-56.

Establishment of a development organization by an impoverished slum community of 2500. First priority: feeding programme for children. Local fund-raising, but resources too meagre. With support of local medical center and school board, obtention of grant from abroad. Used to set up a community kitchen programme, then vocational training, a loan cooperative, and health education programmes. Use of government services for training of local volunteers to staff various programmes, all decision making remaining within local organization.

FLORENTINO S. SOLON, The Philippine Nutrition Programme, a government and private effort, no. 35, 1976, pp. 72-79.

Coordination of private and government efforts through creation in 1974 of National Nutrition Council. Planning and coordination through structure of regional, provincial, municipal and *barangay* (village) nutrition committees composed of government and civic leaders. Focal point for implementation: the 1500 municipalities, within which each *barangay* nutrition committee works with network of unit leaders, one for each cluster of 20 families. Execution of five intervention schemes with help of village health aides and community nutrition workers: health care, surveillance of malnourished children and food assistance, food production, nutrition education, and family planning. Back-up ensured through training of administrators, inten-

sive media campaigns, enlistment of financial and technical help from private sector.

Published only in French:

MUTIMA MUHINDO MULEKYA, *La lutte contre le kwashiorkor au Zaïre, la campagne soja dans le Kivu*, no. 35, 1976, pp. 41-52.

(English summary pp. 120-121; Spanish summary p. 125)

CYRILLE NIAMEOGO, *Les monitrices de bouillies en zones rurales de Haute-Volta*, no. 35, 1976, pp. 31-40.

(English summary pp. 119-120; Spanish summary pp. 124-125)

PUDJIWATI SAJOGYO, *Les Centres de réhabilitation nutritionnelle en Indonésie*, no. 38, 1977, pp. 57-63.

(English summary p. 119; Spanish summary p. 122)

Published only in Spanish:

ANTONIO ACUÑA GÓMEZ y LISIMACO DURÁN PÉREZ, *Una experiencia de tiendas comunales en Cartagena, Colombia*, no. 43, 1978, pp. 93-99.

(English summary p. 115; French summary pp. 111-112)

CUTBERTO PARILLÓN DELGADO, *La producción alimentaria a través de huertos comunitarios en Panamá*, no. 35, 1976, pp. 92-98.

(English summary pp. 121-122; French summary p. 117)

WILLIAM VARGAS GONZÁLEZ, *Programas de nutrición aplicada en zonas rurales de Costa Rica*, no. 35, 1976, pp. 80-91.

(English summary p. 121; French summary pp. 116-117)

The young child 7 case studies

BASHIGE BASHIZI, Day-care centers in Senegal—a women's initiative, no. 47/48, 1979, pp. 165-171.

In one area of Senegal, 58 day-care centers created upon local women's initiative. Support by government sectoral services, providing vaccinations and medical care, nutrition and sanitation education for the mothers. Manned by young volunteers trained by the Department of *Animation rurale*, major support provided by mothers in kind. Day-care premises built by village men.

LÍA CHANG DE MEJÍA et al., Panama's Child and Family Orientation Centers, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 75-91.

In 1975, initiation by group of mothers with support of Ministries of Health and Education of first Child and Family Orientation Center. Aim: provide child care, improve families' socio-economic conditions, foster women's involvement in education. In 1980, 240 COIFs with intake of 12 000 children established upon community request. Community responsible for setting up, furnishing, and supporting the center to the extent possible. Training of teachers and supervision by government staff. Evaluation carried out in 1979 revealed high rate of involvement of mothers in all centers, close ties between teachers and children. Results of pedagogical tests: improved psycho-motor performance and increased cognitive skills. Impact on community: new skills for parents, promotion of community organization and development.

MANUEL TEJADA CANO, From the child to community participation: lessons from two Peruvian experiences, no. 47/48, 1979, pp. 143-164.

Description of one rural and one urban programme undertaken by government to improve conditions for children. From the experience gained, outline of basic guidelines for establishment of viable services for children. Particularly emphasized are participatory planning and evaluation, to arrive at self-sustaining process of development. Components discussed: choice of site, development of self-management capacities, evolution of integrated strategy, incorporation of economic activities, promotion of community development.

Published only in French:

COMITÉ CENTRAL POUR LA PROTECTION DE LA MÈRE ET DE L'ENFANT, *La protection de la mère et de l'enfant au Vietnam*, no. 39, 1977, pp. 33-46.

(English summary p. 123; Spanish summary p. 126)

MEERA MAHADEVAN, *Les Crèches mobiles en Inde*, no. 40, 1977, pp. 68-86.

(English summary pp. 124-125; Spanish summary pp. 127-128)

Published only in Spanish:

JAMES J. MAYRIDES, *Las escuelas de banco de Cartagena, Colombia—la respuesta de una comunidad a sus necesidades preescolares*, no. 44, 1978, pp. 79-88.

(English summary pp. 132-133; French summary pp. 128-129)

ANA MARÍA DE PARÍS MONTESINOS, *Hogares de cuidado diario en Venezuela—la Fundación del Niño*, no. 36, 1976, pp. 87-92.

(English summary p. 121; French summary pp. 117-118)

Prevention and care of disabilities in children
4 case studies

MAHFOUD BOUCEBCI, Special education through neighbourhood centers in Algeria, no. 53/54, 1981, pp. 153-163.

In 1970, association of parents of handicapped children in Algiers to open a small multipurpose center. Series of neighbourhood centers now created particularly for mentally impaired children. Close association with the parents in planning and implementing programme for each child. Basic aim is integration of the disabled into their com-

munity. Efforts made to open up regular school system to those children who can be inserted into its programme.

DAVID B. SEBINA and ADELAIDE DARLING KGOSIDINTSI, Disability prevention and rehabilitation in Botswana, no. 53/54, 1981, pp. 135-152.

Since 1979, testing of WHO Manual for training the disabled in their community in Botswana. Used in two areas by Family Welfare Educators, women at the village level already trained to provide PHC. Initial three-day workshop to prepare health personnel and Family Welfare Educators, followed by evaluation session one month later. Description of results obtained with different types of handicap. Importance attached to educational programmes for parents, teachers, and the community in care of the disabled.

MARIGOLD J. THORBURN, In Jamaica, community aides for disabled pre-school children, no. 53/54, 1981, pp. 117-134.

Major goal of Jamaican Early Stimulation Project begun in Kingston: develop low-cost model for early detection of disability and early intervention. Recruitment of community women for weekly visits to homes of disabled children to implement intervention programmes tailor-made for each child. Demonstration to parents of activities to be undertaken. Found that these community aides, ranging from barely literate to 7th-grade education, can be taught testing and curriculum planning as well. Project now expanded to a second community; aim is to create network of such units throughout island. Evaluation of 36 children with the programme for three years revealed, for moderate and mildly handicapped children, acquisition of the same number of skills per year as would have been expected for a normal child.

WAH WONG and AURORA P. TOMPAR-TIU, A community programme in the Philippines: the project "Reaching the Unreached", no 53/54, 1981, pp. 165-183.

In 1979, launching of joint project by Philippine Foundation for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, the Nutrition Center of the Philippines, and UNICEF, focusing on 0-6 age group, with emphasis on

elaborating simple indicators for early detection of impairments, and low-cost intervention measures using local resources. House-to-house survey of children in two pilot villages: 21% had impairments, and two-thirds of the multiply impaired were malnourished. Training of parents, teachers, midwives, community volunteers, and day-care workers in nutrition, PHC, and low-cost measures for sensory and environmental stimulation. Control and experimental groups of children tested before and after by local workers trained in administration of developmental tests. Results: in 80%, complete recovery or improvement; in 6%, improvement, but subject to recurrence of impairment; in 4%, no or only slight improvement. 10% had moved away.

Education 10 case studies

TASLIMA ABED and JOWSHAN A. RAHMAN, Leadership training for village women in Bangladesh, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 127-136.

Development by *Swanirvar* (self-reliance) movement, with government support, of leadership training programme for village women. Three-day workshops on women's status and roles in village development, child care, family planning, health, income-generating activities, ways to establish contact with service agencies, project planning. In 57 workshops to date, some 4966 participants trained. As a result, 1778 women's groups formed around income-generating activities, and 854 women's cooperatives. Programme continuing to expand.

LUIS MARÍA ALLER ATUCHA and CATHERINE D. CRONE, A participatory methodology for literacy and health education—the IPREFA integrated project in Choloma, Honduras, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 141-161.

Since 1975, pilot projects carried out by the Ministries of Public Education and Public Health, and the Honduran Family Planning Association, with the support of IPPF and World Education. Objectives: improve the campesinos' living conditions through integrated programme of basic education, health, and family planning, and to develop a replicable model. Approach based on Paulo Freire's functional education methodology, using materials the campesinos have

helped to prepare. Emphasis on provision of skills immediately applicable by population, and modes of learning characteristic of illiterate adults. Training of local campesinos with some schooling to be literacy circle instructors. Training also of health representatives, family planning workers, and traditional birth attendants. Results considered highly positive.

ROSS KIDD and MARTIN BYRAM, Popular theatre as a tool for community education: four case studies from Botswana, no. 44, 1978, pp. 35-65.

Since 1974, experimentation with use of participatory theatre as starting point for educational programmes, and as accompanying ongoing process of problem solving. Used with positive results in literacy classes, resettlement schemes, and extension work for appropriate technology. First initiated by the Institute of Adult Education. Advantages over other media: inexpensive, imported materials and techniques not required, and involves entire community in definition of problems, analysis of situation, dramatization, and discussions leading to collective decisions. Political and social constraints to use of new information are thus also dealt with.

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, Basic education in Tanzania, a community enterprise, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 163-181.

Since 1967, efforts by Ministry of National Education to develop basic education relevant to the rural areas. New educational model: the community school. Encourages communities to direct their own social and economic development in association with school's educational resources. Integration of school and village activities so that school serves as center of learning for entire community. Communal basic services also incorporated into programme. Plan to extend model throughout country by 1982. Institution of in-service teacher training programme to rapidly prepare additional teachers needed.

CHITRA NAIK, An action-research project on universal primary education, Maharashtra State, India, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 93-113.

Formal primary education inaccessible for poorest of children due to need to work. Development by Indian Institute of Education of

alternative part-time primary education programme in coordination with regular school programme to allow for passage from one to the other. Involvement of entire community through creation of village-level committees to supervise both systems and choose local candidates for training. Emphasis on parent education as well. Expected result: development of community-based educational strategies through action-research. 90 classes in first year (1980). Financed by State of Maharashtra and external sources.

MARJA-LIISA SWANTZ, Participatory research as a tool for training, no. 41, 1978, pp. 93-109.

Efforts by team of Finnish and Tanzanian scholars to develop through participatory research a training model for development work. Organization of group discussions between political leaders, government officers, and villagers for better understanding of issues involved as starting point for participation. Illustration of method through three examples. Advantages of this approach in training of government officers and others: trainees equipped to carry out their work from the viewpoint of the needs and problems of the population, and to locate the felt needs.

UNICEF, KATHMANDU, Students in rural development work, a study-service scheme in Nepal, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 115-126.

Since 1975, attempt to help bridge gap between urbanized sectors and rural zones through study-service scheme involving all degree-level university students. One academic year in remote villages to teach in local schools and stimulate village development activities. Resulting increase in number of requests submitted to government services by villages for assistance in development projects, rise in enrollment rates for girls. Increased understanding of country's needs by students, with re-examination of relevance of university curricula.

Published only in French:

JEANNE BISILLIAT-GARDET, *La télévision communautaire de Bonoua, en Côte d'Ivoire*, no. 51/52, 1980, pp. 173-186.
(No English summary)

H. GUY LE BOTERF, SYLVAIN LOURIÉ, PALOMA LÓPEZ DE CABALLOS, JACQUES BUGNICOURT, *Participation populaire au contenu de l'éducation non formelle — une première expérience dans six pays d'Amérique latine*, no. 44, 1978, pp. 15-34.

(English summary pp. 130-131; Spanish summary pp. 134-135)

Published only in Spanish:

PATRICIO BARRIGA-PUENTE, *Educación no formal y participación comunitaria — la experiencia del Ecuador*, no. 44, 1978, pp. 67-78.

(English summary pp. 131-132; French summary pp. 127-128)

Water and sanitation 9 case studies

MARGARITA CARDENAS, Rural water supply and sanitation education in Paraguay, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 109-120.

Since 1972, Paraguay's National Service of Environmental Sanitation implementing programme to provide potable water supplies and sanitation education to rural population. Based on community involvement in preliminary surveys, in decision as to types of services, in sanitation education programmes, and in construction of water supply system. Presents step-by-step outline of methodology followed.

EDDAH GACHUKIA, Women's self-help efforts for water supply in Kenya—the important role of NGO support, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 167-174.

Water revealed to be women's priority need in survey carried out in International Women's Year. Resulting Water for Health programme launched by 25 NGOs with UNICEF. Support to self-help projects initiated by women's groups. Description of four such projects.

HANS GUGGENHEIM and ROSALIE FANALE, Water storage through shared technology: four projects among the Dogon in Mali, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 151-166.

Effort to arrive at solutions for increased water supply within context of traditional technology, thus avoiding problems often raised with introduction of modern technology by outsiders. Description of four projects planned and carried out in close cooperation with villagers concerned. When each project finished, is viewed by the people as their own achievement.

NURUL ISLAM, AMINUL HUQ, K. A. S. MURSHID, and MONOWAR HOSSAIN, Water and sanitation in Bangladesh, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 131-143.

Massive government campaign since 1972 to provide by 1980 potable water to 93% of the population residing in rural areas. 50 000 tubewells sunk a year, with sharing of costs by local population. Management through local structures, with repair network and local pump caretakers. Result: 75-85% of handpump tubewells in operation at any one time. Parallel programme of latrine installation. Mobilization of health workers for corresponding health education.

JAIME MORA RAMÍREZ and ALFREDO SALAZAR DUQUE, A community-initiated water supply project in Colombia, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 121-130.

In 1977, 43% of Colombia's rural population had access to potable water. Experience of the village of Juanambú illustrates the community-based approach of the government's National Institute of Health, in its water supply and sanitation programme. Delegation of planning and implementation to regional and local levels, and community participation in planning, construction and financing—through a revolving fund—of their water system.

R. SUBRAMANIAN, R. DESIKAVINAYAGAM PILLAI, G. R. SUBBURAMAN, and A. P. BARNABAS, Local caretakers for handpumps in Tamil Nadu, India, no. 45/46, 1979, pp. 145-149.

Within context of government concern with rural development, evolution by State of Tamil Nadu of strategy for providing bore-

wells to all 55 000 settlements. Description of network of caretakers equipped with tools at village level, supported by block-level and district-level staff. Caretakers trained in environmental sanitation and personal hygiene in training camps organized at block level.

Published only in French:

JEAN-CLAUDE FUNCK, *L'introduction d'un programme d'eau potable à Belhassenat*, no. 34, 1976, pp. 71-78.
(English summary pp. 124-125; Spanish summary p. 130)

GARBA HIMA, *Hydraulique villageoise et investissement humain au Niger*, no. 34, 1976, pp. 79-88.
(English summary pp. 125-126; Spanish summary p. 131)

Published only in Spanish:

JAIME MORA RAMÍREZ y ORLANDO LÓPEZ OROZCO, *Participación comunitaria y saneamiento básico rural en Colombia*, no. 34, 1976, pp. 89-101.
(English summary p. 126; French summary p. 123)

Women's self-help efforts 9 case studies

PADMINI ABEYWARDENA, Women's self-reliance programmes in Sri Lanka, no. 38, 1977, pp. 84-88.

In government effort to extend services to rural areas, emphasis on community participation to ensure that services correspond to felt needs. Women's organizations point of contact with rural women. Training provided for volunteer women workers, supported by extension workers.

HODA YOUSSEF FAHMY, Building upon tradition—a women's handicraft project in Upper Egypt, no. 49/50, 1980, pp. 197-206.

In response to felt need of women in the community, establishment of income-generating handicraft project in small town. Underlined are some major cultural factors to be taken into account in project development in strongly traditional areas, where women still in semi-seclusion for most part.

STEPHEN JARRETT, A revolving fund to provide the capital for self-help: rural women's small production units in Honduras, no. 49/50, 1980, pp. 141-153.

Recognition by Honduras government of need for economic component in project to provide services to disadvantaged rural frontier area. Creation of revolving fund to provide capital to women for small production projects. With assistance of technical staff from Ministry of Agriculture or National Social Welfare Board, presentation by organized groups of women of project outline and investment plan. Management of fund also group's responsibility. Emphasis placed on rapid delivery of funds to avoid loss of interest, and on technical support by trained staff. Management skills at base level thus produced, and women incorporated into economic life. Production groups also delivery points for other programme components. Aim: 40 to 60 projects in first stage.

BRENDA GAEL MCSWEENEY, Time to learn, time for a better life: the Women's Education Project in Upper Volta, no. 49/50, 1980, pp. 109-126.

In 1967, women's overwhelming workload (revealed by time-budget study to represent 56% of total work performed by men and women) identified by Upper Volta Women's Education Project as major obstacle to their benefiting from educational and income-generating opportunities. Introduction of time-saving technologies, training of local chosen women in leadership. Results: increased participation in educational activities, increased productivity, improved sanitation, increased revenues through collective fields.

DIANA OPONDO, A women's group in Kenya and its struggle to obtain credit, no. 49/50, 1980, pp. 127-139.

Lack of access to health services and to a market for their goods identified by a group of village women as their most important problem. Description of their difficulties to obtain credit to buy bus, and their perseverance in the face of many obstacles. Once acquired, substantial benefits brought to community by bus in terms of access to services and new knowledge, and new sources of income, resulting in cooperative income-generating projects.

ANDREA MENEFEE SINGH, Income generation and community development in Hyderabad, no. 49/50, 1980, pp. 173-195.

Government urban community development project in Hyderabad one of 25 programmes in Indian cities. Slum upgrading rather than demolition, with emphasis on response to priorities established by community. Among some 160 different activities in Hyderabad programme covering 1 million people, emphasis in this article placed on income generation for women, identified as major felt need. Opening of sewing centers for training purposes, formation of women's organizations encouraged. Provision of group loans and technical assistance to women's cooperatives created as a result.

SONDRA ZEIDENSTEIN, A regional approach to women's needs—the Women and Development Unit in the Caribbean, no. 49/50, 1980, pp. 155-171.

As a result of 1977 seminar for Commonwealth Caribbean women, creation of permanent mechanism to respond to women's needs in 12 countries of the area. Concentration on creating greater awareness of women's situation among national and regional planners, and mobilizing women for self-help. Use of participatory approach in design of workshops to explore possibilities and approaches for income-generating activities, provision of technical assistance to pilot production projects.

Published only in French:

IRAM, *Besoins et participation des femmes rurales au Niger*, no. 41, 1978, pp. 74-92.
(English summary p. 130; Spanish summary pp. 134-135)

MALICK SENE, *Un projet d'allégement du travail des femmes au Mali*, no. 36, 1976, pp. 66-86.
(English summary pp. 120-121; Spanish summary pp. 125-126)

Basic services in rural areas 8 case studies

A. T. ARIYARATNE, A people's movement for self-reliance in Sri Lanka, no. 39, 1977, pp. 78-98.

Description of Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement by its founder and President. Largest non-governmental organization in Sri Lanka, working in 1200 villages in 1977. Aimed at liberation from exploitation through self-reliance. Organization of community into peer groups, coordinated through Village Council. Training centers to provide courses according to the needs of each village. Wide variety of activities: family surveys, seed banks, education in the use of government services, revolving funds, agricultural farms, community kitchens, home gardens, day-care centers, community health programmes using trained health workers.

ELA BHATT, A self-help approach for rural populations—mobilizing agricultural workers in India, no. 38, 1977, pp. 89-91.

Evokes Agricultural Workers' Union as example of mobilizing rural poor to draw upon their own resources in providing services. In 1977, Union had spread to 25 villages. Two initial problem areas for members: water and credit. Union funds used to provide small loans for working capital; responsible government agencies sollicited to assist in solving other problems.

SOORYA BAHADUR BISTA, The Small-Area Development Programme in Nepal, no. 37, 1977, pp. 90-103.

Adoption of regional planning policy in Nepal's Fourth Five-Year Plan. Integrated development of selected small areas on basis of felt needs, later to be extended into zonal programmes. Emphasis on community participation at village level, with easy access to programme's administrative offices.

HARUN ZAIN, Development planning for the rural areas of West Sumatra, no. 39, 1977, pp. 99-114.

As Governor of West Sumatra, discusses how a planning policy can be evolved to meet basic needs within a regional government structure. Establishment of a data collection system starting at village level, serving in the drawing up of development priorities by local village heads together with sub-district officers. Communication of these priorities up to the national planning agency for harmonization of national and regional undertakings. Government encouragement of complementary self-help village projects. Out of this experience, summary of basic requirements for effective planning at community level.

Published only in Spanish:

RAMÓN P. BINAMIRA, *El proyecto Compasión, Filipinas, participación y servicios integrados*, no. 39, 1977, pp. 47-77.
(English summary pp. 123-124; French summary p. 119)

MAGALY O. JURADO, *Planificación de servicios rurales para Tonosí, Panamá*, no. 38, 1977, pp. 92-97.
(English summary p. 120; French summary p. 117)

SAUL LEÓN, *Programa de desarrollo rural integrado para Chuquisaca, Bolivia*, no. 37, 1977, pp. 71-84.
(English summary p. 120; French summary pp. 114-115)

ANGEL ROBLES RAMÍREZ, *Desarrollo socioeconómico de los Altos de Chiapas, México*, no. 37, 1977, pp. 56-70.
(English summary pp. 119-120; French summary p. 114)

Basic services in urban poor areas — 8 case studies

ALASKA BEACH RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION, A squatter community and its problems of land ownership—a universal issue, no. 40, 1977, pp. 116-121.

In slums and shanty-towns, fear of eviction and forced evacuation to new settlements often the starting point of true community

organization and local development projects. Description by members of this women's group of how struggle to gain possession of their land led them to negotiate with city officials. Strengthening of their capability to collectively improve their own living conditions. Eventual gain of full support of Department of Social Services and Development, and assistance in launching income-generating activities and a primary health care programme.

WILLY BEZOLD SALINAS and FLAVIO MORENO JIMÉNEZ, Integrated basic services for Lima's "young towns", no. 57/58, 1982, pp. 101-134.

Since 1978, an integrated basic services project in Cono Sur area to replace previous conventional services, proven insufficient. Through local neighbourhood structures, construction of centers to provide mother and child health services, environmental sanitation, nutrition, initial education programmes, and vocational training. Government support provided through health and education sectors, with training and supervision provided by their technical staff to workers chosen from among the communities. Significant results in variety of areas: as of June 1981, daily distribution of supplementary feedings to 9760 children, all sources of water inspected, 8200 basic information questionnaires filled out by families themselves, 21 health sections in operation in community centers, 234 initial education programmes in operation. Expanding process of interaction between government and local population.

ANA MARIA F. BRASILEIRO et al., Extending municipal services by building on local initiatives—a project in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, no. 57/58, 1982, pp. 67-100.

In Rocinha, one of Rio's largest favelas, local sanitation, health, and community school groups formed over the past ten years to clean up area and improve drainage, conduct survey and formulate proposals for health services, and organize classes for adults and children. Decision in 1979 by Municipal Secretariat for Social Development to establish an Urban Community Development Programme. Analysis of the process followed by municipal authorities to build on these efforts to extend services in ways which are in keeping with the communities' own priorities. Contact with these existing groups, establishment of three teams composed of community members and technical staff

to carry out joint projects: *(1)* Community Schools; *(2)* Sanitation; *(3)* Community Support. Creation and funding of a mechanism to respond to increasing community demands for municipal support to community efforts in other areas.

JEHAN K. CASSIM et al., Development councils for participatory urban planning, no. 57/58, 1982, pp. 157-187.

In 1978, launching of the Environmental Health and Community Development Project in slums of Colombo by Slum and Shanty Development Unit (Ministry of Local Government). Recruitment of young men and women from communities for training as health wardens. Their role: mobilize communities to form local development councils, assist them in planning and carrying out environmental improvements, maintenance of new amenities, health care, vaccination and nutrition education. Participation of heads of these community councils in district councils for programme coordination. Planning of work schedule every six months at workshop attended by community representatives and municipal agency technical staff. Community leaders also to be represented on city development council, for overall planning and policy making. Over 200 local councils established to date. With Common Amenities Board, 543 standpipes, 340 bathrooms, and 723 latrines provided as of end 1981.

RALPH DIAZ, Restructuring services to reach the urban poor in Kuala Lumpur, no. 57/58, 1982, pp. 135-156.

Decision in 1979 to combine existing government efforts into multi-agency delivery of services through local community action teams. Coordination of 18 agencies to provide health and family planning, environmental improvements, and community/family development. Changes in administrative structures in view, as necessary for implementation of integrated rather than sectoral programmes, and training of personnel for new approach. Opening of multipurpose community centers manned by local trained workers. Discussion of difficulties in mobilizing community participation in situations where interests of dominant community leaders do not necessarily correspond to those of community members.

K. C. SIVARAMAKRISHNAN, Slum improvement in Calcutta, no. 40, 1977, pp. 87-115.

Slum upgrading rather than demolition chosen by Calcutta metropolitan district in 1970 to improve living conditions of 3 500 000 slum dwellers. Initial survey followed by installation of latrines, drainage, water supply, lighting, playgrounds, and dispensaries in consultation with residents. Renovation of 680 schools. Participation of local organizations in choice of suitable locations and running of nutrition centers feeding 135 000 children. Creation of a service consortium to coordinate efforts of the hundreds of NGOs working in the slums. Attracted funding from abroad, became the Europe-Calcutta Consortium. Recent expansion of the government programme into income generation.

Published only in French:

LOÏC BARBEDETTE, *Animation d'une zone d'extension spontanée de Douala, Cameroun*, no. 43, 1978, pp. 63-92.

(English summary pp. 114-115; Spanish summary pp. 118-119)

PRATEEP UNGSONGTHAM, *Une initiative locale dans les taudis de Bangkok: des services communautaires pour l'enfance*, no. 40, 1977, pp. 49-67.

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CDC, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND INFORMATION SECTION
Community organization for public health measures: a workshop manual, DDHS publication no. (CDC) 81-8388, Center for Disease Control, Bureau of State Services, Technical Information Services, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Education for development and the rural woman, World Education, New York, 1979.

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Rural development participation: concepts and measures for project design, implementation and evaluation, Rural Development Monograph no. 2, Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1977, xvi-317 p.

COOMBS, Philip H., ed.
Meeting the basic needs of the rural poor, the integrated community-based approach, A Report of the International Council for Educational Development, Pergamon Press, Pergamon Policy Studies on International Development, New York, 1980, x-817 p.

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Attacking rural poverty, how non-formal education can help, A World Bank Publication, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974, 310 p.

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Changing slum communities—urban community development in Hyderabad, Manohar, New Delhi, 1979, vii-110 p.

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Journals primarily devoted to community participation

Adult Education and Development
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 120
Periodicity: twice yearly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: German Adult Education Association, Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband, Fachstelle für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, Rheinallee 1, 5300 Bonn 2, FRG.

Assignment Children
A journal concerned with children, women and youth in development
Subscriptions: Third World, students: $ 7.50 or FF 30.00; Europe: FF 46.00; USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, $ 16.00
Average number of pages: 224
Periodicity: twice yearly
Language editions: English, French
Address: UNICEF, Villa Le Bocage, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

Community Development Journal
Subscriptions: $ 34.00; single copies: $ 14.00
Average number of pages: 80
Periodicity: 3 times a year
Language edition: English
Address: Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK.

Convergence
Subscriptions: North America: one year $ 18.00, three years $ 45.00; outside North America: one year $ 15.00, three years $ 38.00; students (all countries): one year $ 12.00, three years $ 30.00; single copies (all countries): $ 5.00
Average number of pages: 90
Periodicity: quarterly
Languages: articles in English, French, Russian, Spanish
Address: International Council for Adult Education, 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Canada M5R 1B2.

Dialogue about participation
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 80/150
Periodicity: (projected) twice yearly
Language editions: English, Spanish
Address: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

International Quarterly of Community Health Education
A journal of policy and applied research
Subscriptions: institutions: $ 45.00; individuals: $ 25.00
Average number of pages: 80
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Baywood Publishing Co., 120 Marine Street, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735, USA.

Jipemoyo
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 120
Periodicity: irregular
Language edition: English
Address: Bagamoyo Project, Institute of Development Studies, University of Helsinki, Luotsikatu 4 A 1, 00160 Helsinki 16, Finland, and Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, P.O. Box 2126, 75002 Uppsala, Sweden.

Reading Rural Development Communications Bulletin
Subscriptions: £ 4.00
Average number of pages: 35
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre, The University of Reading, London Road, Reading RG1 5AQ, UK.

Rural Development Participation Review
Subscriptions: free of charge upon request
Average number of pages: 25
Periodicity: 3 times a year
Language edition: English
Address: Rural Development Committee, 170 Uris Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853, USA.

World Health Forum
An International Journal of Health Development
Subscriptions: SF 40.00
Average number of pages: 370
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish, Arabic
Address: World Health Organization, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland.

Magazines frequently featuring articles on community participation

Ceres
FAO Review on Agriculture and Development
Subscriptions: $ 12.00
Average number of pages: 50
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: FAO, Distribution and Sales Section, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy.

Contact
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 20
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Language editions: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese
Address: Christian Medical Commission, World Council of Churches, 150 route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.

Development
Seeds of change, village through global order
Subscriptions: high-income countries: $ 25.00; low-income countries: $ 6.00; students from high-income countries: $ 5.00; students from low-income countries: $ 3.00
Average number of pages: 70
Periodicity: quarterly
Languages: articles in English, French, Spanish
Address: Society for International Development, Editorial and Business Offices, Palazzo Civiltà del Lavoro, 00144 Rome, Italy.

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Development Forum
Subscriptions: free upon request, otherwise: $ 10.00
Average number of pages: 16 (newspaper format)
Periodicity: 10 times a year
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: DESI/DPI, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

Future
Development perspectives on children
Subscriptions: India: Rs. 30.00; surface mail: $ 6.00; airmail: Asia, Africa, $ 9.00, Europe, $ 11.00, Americas, $ 13.00
Average number of pages: 60
Periodicity: quarterly
Language: English
Address: UNICEF Regional Office for South Central India, UNICEF House, 73 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110003, India.

Grassroots Development
Journal of the Inter-American Foundation
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 50
Periodicity: twice yearly
Language editions: English, Spanish
Address: 1515 Wilson Boulevard, Rosslyn, Virginia 22209, USA.

Ideas and Action
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 25
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development, FAO, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy.

Ideas Forum
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 24/32 (newspaper format)
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French
Address: UNICEF, Information Division, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

Pan American Health
The Magazine of the Pan American Health Organization
Subscriptions: $ 4.00
Average number of pages: 40
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, Spanish
Address: PAHO, Office of Public Information, 525 23rd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, USA.

People
Subscriptions: UK: £ 5.00; other countries: $ 15.00; single copies: $ 3.75
Average number of pages: 40
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: International Planned Parenthood Federation, Distribution Department, 18-20 Lower Regent Street, London SW1 4PW, UK.

UNICEF News
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 35
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish, German
Address: UNICEF, Information Division, 866 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, USA.

World Health
The Magazine of the World Health Organization
Subscriptions: mostly free, otherwise: $ 15.00
Average number of pages: 30
Periodicity: 10 times a year
Language editions: English, French, Spanish, Arabic, German, Italian, Persian, Portuguese, Russian
Address: World Health Organization, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland.

Journals with occasional articles on community participation

African Environment
Environment Studies and Regional Planning Bulletin
Subscriptions: Third World: individual, $ 12.50, student, $ 8.50, institution, $ 20.00; other countries: $ 37.50
Average number of pages: 200/250
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French
Address: ENDA, P.O. Box 3370, Dakar, Senegal.

American Journal of Public Health
Subscriptions: $ 30.00
Average number of pages: 100
Periodicity: monthly
Language edition: English
Address: American Public Health Association, 1015 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, USA.

Bulletin of the Pan American Health Organization
Subscriptions: $ 8.00
Average number of pages: 94
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Pan American Sanitary Bureau, Regional Office of the World Health Organization, 525 23rd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, USA.

Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific
Subscriptions: $ 8.00
Average number of pages: 400
Periodicity: annual
Language edition: English
Address: P.O. Box 1425, General Post Office, Bangkok 10500, Thailand.

CEPAL Review
Subscriptions: $ 9.00
Average number of pages: 200
Periodicity: 3 times a year
Language editions: English, Spanish
Address: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, P.O. Box 179-D, Santiago, Chile.

Development Dialogue
A Journal of International Development Cooperation
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 160
Periodicity: twice yearly
Language edition: English
Address: The Dag Hammarskjöld Centre, Övre Slottsgatan 2, 752 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Human Organization
Subscriptions by membership: institutions: $ 40.00; members: $ 30.00
Average number of pages: 100
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1703 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, USA.

Hygie
International Journal of Health Education
Subscriptions: FF 85.00
Average number of pages: 60
Periodicity: quarterly
Languages: articles in English, French, Spanish
Address: International Union for Health Education, 9 rue Newton, 75116 Paris, France.

IFDA Dossier
Subscriptions: free of charge upon request; voluntary contributions of $ 30.00 or SF 48.00
Average number of pages: 100
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Languages: articles in English, French, and Spanish
Address: International Foundation for Development Alternatives, 2, place du Marché, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland.

The Indian Journal of Social Work
Subscriptions: India: Rs. 50.00; USA and Canada: $ 12.00; other countries: £ 5.00
Average number of pages: 230
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Publications, Deonar, Bombay 400 088, India.

International Journal of Health Services
Subscriptions: $ 42.00
Average number of pages: 200
Language edition: English
Address: Baywood Publishing Co., 120 Marine Street, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735, USA.

Journal of Tropical Pediatrics
(published under the auspices of the Division of Population, Family and International Health, School of Public Health, University of California and Tropical Child Health Unit, Institute of Child Health, University of London)
Subscriptions: USA: $ 69.00; UK: £ 29.00
Average number of pages: 50
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Language edition: English
Address: Journals Subscriptions Department, Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK.

Labour and Society
Subscriptions: SF 45.00
Average number of pages: 100
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French
Address: International Institute for Labour Studies, P.O. Box 6, 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

Medical Care
(published by the American Public Health Association)
Subscriptions: institutions: $ 68.00; individuals: $ 59.00
Average number of pages: 100

Periodicity: monthly
Language edition: English
Address: Journal Fulfillment Department, Lippincott/Harper, 2350 Virginia Avenue, Hagerstown, Md. 21740, USA.

Prisma
The Indonesian Indicator
Subscriptions: $ 12.00
Average number of pages: 90
Periodicity: quarterly (English ed.)
Language editions: Indonesian, English
Address: Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information, P.O. Box 493 JKT, Jakarta Barat, Indonesia.

Newsletters with occasional items on community participation

Asian Action
Average number of pages: 15
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Language edition: English
Address: Asian Cultural Forum on Development, G.P.O. Box 2930, Bangkok, Thailand.

CENDHRRA ***Development Memo***
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 4
Periodicity: monthly
Language edition: English
Address: Centre for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia, P.O. Box 458, Greenhills, San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines.

Development Communication Report
Subscriptions: free of charge for readers in developing countries
Average number of pages: 16
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Clearinghouse on Development Communication, 1414 22nd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, USA.

From the UNICEF Waterfront
A note from the UNICEF Water and Environmental Sanitation Team (WET)
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 30
Periodicity: irregular
Language edition: English
Address: UNICEF, 866 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, USA.

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Innovation
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 8
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: International Educational Reporting Service, UNESCO, International Bureau of Education, Palais Wilson, 1211 Geneva 14, Switzerland.

International Council for Adult Education, News from the Secretariat
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 10
Periodicity: 3 times a year
Language edition: English
Address: 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Canada M5R 1B2.

International Council for Educational Development Newsletter
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 4
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: 680 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10019, USA.

International Health News
Subscriptions by membership: members: $ 25.00; non-profit organizations: $ 125.00
Average number of pages: 12 (newspaper format)
Periodicity: 6 times a year
Language edition: English
Address: National Council for International Health, 2121 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Suite 303, Washington, D.C. 20037, USA.

International Rehabilitation Review
Subscriptions: $ 20.00
Average number of pages: 8
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: Rehabilitation International, 432 Park Avenue S., New York, N.Y. 10016, USA.

The NFE Exchange
A Timely Information Exchange Service on Non-Formal Education
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 24
Language edition: English
Address: Non-Formal Education Information Center, Michigan State University, 237 Erickson Hall, East Lansing, Michigan 48824-1034, USA.

The NFE/WID Exchange-Asia
(UPLB Information Exchange Center for Asia, joint project of Michigan State University and the University of the Philippines at Los Baños)

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Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 15
Language edition: English
Address: University of the Philippines at Los Baños, College, Laguna 3720, Philippines.

Pasitam Newsletter
The Design Process in Development
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 4
Language edition: English
Address: Program of Advanced Studies in Institution Building and Technical Assistance Methodology, Indiana University, 400 E. Seventh Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47405, USA.

Salubritas
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 7
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish
Address: The American Public Health Association and the World Federation of Public Health Associations, 1015 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, USA.

Society for Participatory Research in Asia Newsletter
Average number of pages: 4
Periodicity: quarterly
Language edition: English
Address: 45 Sainik Farm, Khanpur, New Delhi 110062, India.

UNESCO, Adult Education Information Notes
Subscriptions: free of charge
Average number of pages: 15
Periodicity: quarterly
Language editions: English, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic
Address: UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

Focus on a book

WERNER, David and BOWER, Bill, *Helping health workers learn, a book of methods, aids, and ideas for instructors at the village level*, The Hesperian Foundation, Palo Alto, 1982, 594 p.

Dr. Kusum P. Shah, who has reviewed David Werner's latest book, was formerly Associate Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Grant Medical College and J.J. Group of Government Hospitals, Bombay, and has been invited to serve as a consultant to various international organizations. With her husband, Dr. P.M. Shah, she developed one of the pioneering PHC projects in India (Kasa project). She has thus had first-hand experience in training and developing curricula not only for medical personnel, but also for village-level health workers, including birth attendants.

Helping health workers learn is an excellent book, the type of manual which is very much needed for trainers. The authors cover common health and health-related problems in the context of varied life-styles, customs, beliefs, and taboos, and suggest through practical and simple examples ways in which important health messages can be conveyed to community or village health workers. The book offers trainers quite a wide range of teaching methods which they can use while simultaneously refreshing their knowledge of the subject. It is written in simple English, and thus is very easy for trainers to understand. The pictorial presentation is furthermore very useful and eye-catching. The result is a clear idea in the minds of trainers of the medical problems vis-à-vis the needs of the community and methods of teaching. The learning process becomes easy thanks to the profuse examples presented in the form of stories, simple pictures, and diagrams. The artists must be congratulated for their skillful depiction of what the authors had in mind. And because of the variety of presentations, the book does not become monotonous.

David Werner and Bill Bower in fact seem to have studied in depth the physical, social, economical, psychological, educational, and health needs of communities before writing this book, and hence are able to put across their ideas in a very clear and expressive manner.

The examples, stories, photographs, and drawings used are taken from different countries, which suggests to the trainers that they

should draw on their own traditional stories or local approaches in their training activities.

The positive points in favour of the manual are thus numerous and quite obvious. There are, however, certain negative points which should be mentioned here to assist in its further improvement. The first and most obvious negative point is that the book is a large volume of almost 600 pages, which is too long for the average trainer to read and use in training programmes, as his or her educational background is generally poor. Some points are oversimplified, while others are difficult to understand. Some of the pages are overcrowded with material, which makes reading difficult (e.g., pages 8.14, 8.15, 9.19 and many others). In addition, the small, medium, and large prints used on a same page are confusing to the reader. There are quite a few lengthy chapters—e.g., on "Examinations".

The technical content is well presented. Both sides of the coin are discussed in the case of some debatable topics—e.g., oral rehydration. In this particular case, I agree that there are a number of realistic reasons in favour of the home preparation of salt-sugar solutions. However, trainers are told that "the underlying issue in the argument about packets and home mixes is political. Do health planners want to use technology that will make poor families more self-reliant and independent? Or do they want to use outside technologies that make people more dependent on institutions and central control?" (15.12) This sort of comment on the political implications should be minimized. In this section, the reader has the impression that the authors are addressing their arguments in favour of certain stands—which are realistic, no doubt—to technocrats rather than teaching the trainers for whom this book has been intended.

In other parts, the authors depict the health situation from a rather gloomy point of view, which indirectly implies that a change of political system would be desirable. This type of suggestion should be avoided when preparing a training instrument, especially for this level of trainers in the peripheral areas of a country.

As for the content in general, the book centers primarily on child health. From the point of view of the priorities, relatively more space should be devoted to maternal problems. A chapter could also be added on how to cooperate with other workers and health personnel in the area, which would be of great help to trainers and planners.

On the whole, nevertheless, the book is an excellent presentation, with practical and simple examples and figures.

Kusum P. SHAH

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Focus on a book

BROMLEY, Ray e BUSTELO, Eduardo S. (org.), *Política x técnica no planejamento, perspectivas críticas*, Brasiliense, São Paulo e UNICEF, Brasília, 1982, 252 p.

In his Foreword, J. Peter Greaves, UNICEF Representative in Brazil, states that "in the contemporary world, the question is not 'To plan, or not plan?', but rather 'How to plan? - for what? - and for whom?' "

In the final analysis, community participation cannot be dissociated from national development planning. We are presenting below a translation of excerpts from the Preface to the book, available only in Portuguese, entitled "Politics versus techniques in planning". These excerpts give an overview of the book's contents. It was edited by Ray Bromley, Professor at the University College of Swansea, and Eduardo S. Bustelo, UNICEF Programme Planning Officer in Brazil.

Excerpts from the Preface

Since the early 1950s, the governments of Latin America have been bombarded with recommendations and technical assistance from international organizations such as CEPAL and the World Bank, and from the governments of a variety of North American and Western European countries. The recommendations and assistance provided have laid heavy emphasis on the importance of development planning and on the use of sophisticated techniques and equipment for data processing, planning, and evaluation. A substantial "techno-bureaucratic elite" has been created in each Latin American country, heavily dependent on intellectual concepts, expertise, and technical skills originating from North America or Western Europe.

There is nothing inherently wrong in the transfer of ideas and techniques from one country to another, but there are strong reasons for concern about the flow of ideas and techniques relating to planning and evaluation in Latin America. First and foremost, planning and evaluation have often been undertaken simply to satisfy the requirements of aid agencies and paternalistic foreign governments, rather than because of any significant local pressure for their use. Second, a massive international and national consultancy system has

been established, often supported and even required by the major development banks, enabling technocratic firms to make substantial profits by selling their sophisticated expertise and their knowledge of the latest techniques. Third, there has been a growing separation of technocratic planning and evaluation activities from the normal functioning of government as a whole, and even more notably from the concerns and aspirations of most of the national population; in other words, technical sophistication has become increasingly associated with supposed intellectual superiority and real intellectual isolation. Finally and most ironically, the latest and most sophisticated techniques and equipment offered to Latin America are often outdated and even discredited in their countries of origin, yet the critical information which might prevent their spread is hardly ever available because it does not respond to any clear commercial interest or to the desires of those anxious to sell their "expertise". While basic textbooks on such topics as cost-benefit analysis, systems analysis, and programme budgeting (PPBS) are widely available in Latin America and are frequently translated into Portuguese and Spanish, the excellent critiques—by such authors as Peter Self, Ida Hoos, and Aaron Wildavsky—are generally unavailable to readers who do not travel extensively in North America or Britain, or who do not have a very good knowledge of English. The result, of course, is a distorted and exaggerated pattern of technical activity, and an increasingly isolated and irrelevant analysis relying more and more heavily on foreign expertise, technology, and funding. Such analyses often apply techniques which are of dubious value in their countries of origin and which are even more questionable when applied in countries with inferior data bases and a lower capacity to assess the utility of the analyses and to criticize inappropriate applications.

The purpose of this book is to provide an introduction to the "critical" literature on development planning and the evaluation of development projects, combining original articles written specially for this collection with translations into Portuguese of outstanding articles previously published in English or Spanish. Overall, the collection is intended to provide an atmosphere of realism, emphasizing the necessity for planning and evaluation but warning against excesses of technocracy, jargon, and intellectual isolationism. It should serve as an antidote to the more conventional planning and evaluation literature, much of which is little more than a thinly disguised advertisement for the consultancy services of foreign companies and foreign-trained technocrats.

As a central theme for the book we chose one of the most important debates in development planning and political science—whether

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"techniques" and "politics" are opposed to one another as alternative decision-making frameworks for government. The most common line of argument is to suggest that "techniques" and "politics" are indeed incompatible, and that one or other must dominate as the decision-making framework within which planning is conducted. In such a view "technocratic dominance" is the antithesis of political activity, and the intensive and effective application of planning and evaluation techniques both supports and promotes dictatorship. Within the same general line of thinking, but viewing the potential opposite situation, "the dominance of politics" marginalizes technical activity and leads to "technocratic isolation" in which highly qualified specialists retreat from the decision-making arena and conduct increasingly esoteric studies and design-work in order to maintain their own prestige.

The supposed antithesis of techniques and politics underlies many of the other controversies in development planning: the relative advantages of top-down or of bottom-up approaches; the relative merits of increased centralization or of increased decentralization; the pros and cons of integrating planning activities with the electoral cycles; the advantages and disadvantages of a supposedly neutral civil service which continues from government to government, whatever the ideological changes in political circles; and the extent to which a mandatory planning system backed up by a strong, stable government may be more favourable to rapid, planned socio-economic change than an indicative planning system subject to frequent changes imposed by parliamentary decision making and democratic changes of government. These issues are central to the understanding of politics, government, and planning, yet all too often they are oversimplified and misinterpreted because of a failure to comprehend the potential relationships between techniques and politics.

We believe that there is a close and dialectic relationship between techniques and politics in planning, combining antithesis with synthesis in a variety of complex ways. Much of the obvious opposition between the two rests on the lack of understanding between different participants in the decision-making process, and on the assumption on the part of many participants that the two are irreconcilably opposed. The articles included in this book are intended to show that techniques and politics are closely interlinked, and that a potential middle road exists towards a planned but essentially democratic system in which excesses of "technocracy", "totalitarianism", and "political instability" can be avoided. To the extent that any government can set its country upon the road towards such a system, it is likely to gain both in popularity and in its potential for improving the welfare of a substantial proportion of the total population.

The articles which we have included in this book have been chosen because they are well written, critical, and relevant to our general themes—the limitations of techniques for planning and evaluation, and the supposed opposition of techniques and politics. They are all widely applicable to the situation and problems of Brazil, yet most of them are little known in Brazil and none have previously been published and widely diffused in Portuguese. As a group, they show clearly that planning and evaluation are *both* technical *and* political activities, where value judgements are tremendously important and where benefits accruing to some interests may prejudice the interests of others. Planning and evaluation are thus portrayed as forms of applied political economy—immensely relevant to the activities of all governments and countries, and far too significant to be left solely to technocratic vested-interest groups.

This book is divided into two major sections. The first, *Planejamento no contexto das estruturas do poder e da mudança social*, establishes the relationships between planning, politics, and social change, and demonstrates that politics, power structures, and the participation of a wide range of interest groups are indispensable elements in any effective planning process. It draws mainly on the negative features of Latin American experience over the last three decades, relating these to a broader perspective of long-term social change both in Latin America and in the advanced capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe. The second section, *Avaliando as técnicas usadas no planejamento e na avaliação*, focuses specifically upon the application of planning techniques and the deficiencies of a purely technocratic approach. It features some of the critical literature originating from the United States, the country which has done most to produce and diffuse so-called "modern, scientific planning and evaluation techniques". By showing the strength of dissent within the United States about many of the techniques applied over the last two decades, and by indicating some of the specific negative consequences of these techniques when applied in their country of origin, this section sounds a note of warning to Latin Americans to avoid some of the excesses committed elsewhere. In particular, it emphasizes the limitations of technocracy and the need to develop simple, pragmatic and jargon-free approaches to planning and evaluation.

Each chapter in this book has been chosen not only for its merit and relevance, but also because of its "novelty" to a Brazilian audience. Some chapters, for example those by Gross (Ch. 1) and Wildavsky (Ch. 6 and 7), are classics in North America and Western Europe, even though they are virtually unknown in Latin America. In contrast, the chapters by Bustelo (Ch. 4) and Demo (Ch. 5) are new contributions

by Latin American authors, appearing for the first time, and the chapter by Kaplan (Ch. 2) is a Latin American classic which has received surprisingly little recognition because of the limited diffusion of each of its two original Spanish-language versions. Overall, our concern is to produce a synthesis of Latin American, North American, and Western European experience, but oriented essentially to a Latin American readership.

Ray BROMLEY and Eduardo S. BUSTELO

Book reviews

EBRAHIM, G. J., *Paediatric practice in developing countries*, Macmillan Tropical Community Health Manuals, Macmillan, London, 1981, 321 p.

Another in the series of Health Manuals set up specifically to meet the needs of trainee and practising medical personnel in developing countries, this book is intended for district medical officers, and thus focuses primarily on the main health problems found in rural areas. The book also addresses itself to "the challenge of setting up programmes for the prevention of common illnesses of childhood within the cultural and social milieu of the peasant society or urban squatter settlements utilising the limited resources of an average developing country".

The book thus opens with a discussion of the characteristics of childhood illnesses in developing countries, and some of their social and cultural factors. Following sections deal with the problems of malnutrition, common infections, and epidemic illnesses with reference to the context of the team work carried out at health centers and at the village level. The last section then centers squarely on the need for paediatric care to move out of the hospitals and into the community if child health is to be improved. G. J. Ebrahim discusses the developments in health technology, such as the cold chain and the treatment of diarrhoea, which "hold the promise of innovative approaches in health care delivery and of wider coverage". This final section is thus a call for the implementation of primary health care for all.

FERNANDES, Walter (ed.), *People's participation in development, approaches to non-formal education*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1980, xxxviii-185 p.

"Realising that the economic growth model chosen by most planners and development workers has not benefited the poorest sections of society, many voluntary agencies have been experimenting with alternative approaches...

This book is an attempt at making a few of these experiments known. While the first part discusses principles that should govern development programmes if they are to lead to maximum participation of the people, the second part analyses some concrete projects and identifies the elements that led to success as well as their limitations. This book is a contribution to the development debate so necessary in a country which after three decades of planned effort is in the grip of a crisis."

FERNANDES, Walter and TANDON, Rajesh (eds.), *Participatory research and evaluation, experiments in research as a process of liberation*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1981, xii-216 p.

"This book is concerned with participative research as an alternative that is relevant to the needs of the weaker sections of the people... It presents a data-based perspective on participative research and evaluation as an integral tool in the process of liberation. The first part discusses the theoretical approaches to participative research and evaluation and suggests alternative ways of conceptualising its implementation. The second part presents a number of case studies which illustrate both the theory of participative research and the problems involved in actual situations. Because of this combination of theoretical reflection and actual experience, this book makes a significant contribution to the search for new models of research and evaluation that are relevant to the needs of a developing country."

This book will be of interest to those who are looking for new development alternatives.

HALL, Budd, GILLETTE, Arthur, and TANDON, Rajesh (eds.), *Creating knowledge: a monopoly? Participatory research in development*, Participatory Research Network Series no. 1, International Council for Adult Education, Toronto, published by the Society for Participatory Research in Asia, New Delhi, 1982, viii-209 p.

This book is based on the realization that traditional methodologies of research in social sciences do not support the development of people, and that the generation of knowledge is monopolized by a few trained professionals. It questions this monopolistic control over knowledge. Participatory research is seen as a contribution to the development of poor and marginal people. The first part contains theoretical papers written by practitioners from a variety of countries, while a number of case studies from several socio-economic and political contexts are included in the second part. This combination of theoretical and practical presentations from a number of developing and developed countries gives the book an international character and makes a valuable contribution to the ongoing search for new models and approaches to research.

JONES, Gwyn E. and ROLLS, Maurice (eds.), *Progress in rural extension and community development*, vol. 1, *Extension and relative advantage in rural development*, Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre, University of Reading, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., Chichester, 1982, 336 p.

In a growing number of countries, training programmes are being developed to turn out people who will work as change agents, concerned not just with the

subject content of their field—such as agriculture, health, family planning, etc.—but also with the processes of community development, the stimulation of local initiatives. In the editors' opinion, "there is... a need to collect together, regularly and systematically, knowledge on the situation and on the progress which is being made in non-formal education as it relates to the practice and organization of extension work and the development of communities in rural areas".

This is one of the aims of this series on *Progress in rural extension and community development*, of which this book is the first. Its main focus is on how to ensure that the more disadvantaged sectors of rural communities can benefit from extension work. The coverage is international, with papers based upon research or practical experience in various parts of the world. They cover aspects of historical relevance to rural extension work and review and discuss modern theories, useful approaches, and practical applications, especially as relevant to the concept of *relative* disadvantage—as there are disadvantaged groups in all societies. The book is intended for administrators and community workers, teachers, and research workers at universities worldwide.

KASSAM, Yusuf and MUSTAFA, Kemal (eds.), *Participatory research, an emerging alternative methodology in social science research*, Participatory Research Network Series no. 2, International Council for Adult Education, Toronto, published for the African Adult Education Association, Nairobi, by the Society for Participatory Research in Asia, New Delhi, 1982, 252 p.

"This book is a compilation of all the theoretical papers and case studies presented at the African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research which was held in Tanzania in 1979.

Participatory research is most commonly described as an integral activity that combines social investigation, educational work, and action... The specific issues examined in this book, enlightened by concrete case studies of participatory research from Botswana, Kenya, and Tanzania, include the concepts of development in the social sciences, the politics of research methodology in the context of ideological struggles, epistemology, and the question of power, social class, and historical materialism."

KIDD, Ross, *The popular performing arts, non-formal education and social change in the Third World: a bibliography and review essay*, Bibliography no. 7, Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries (CESO), The Hague, February 1982, 127 p.

The bibliography includes over 1000 references to descriptive and analytical materials concerning the use of the performing arts as a medium for education and social change in the Third World. The bibliography is introduced by an essay which attempts to set out a "state-of-the-art" review of the major con-

cepts (folk media, popular theatre, etc.), the various strands of educational and developmental activity, and their varying methodologies, contents, organizational contexts, etc. In particular, the essay compares and contrasts uses of the performing arts within mass national education programmes, small-scale community education/development projects, and popular movements. The bibliography will provide a useful tool for non-formal education practitioners and researchers in identifying a range of relatively fugitive material on this newly emerging field; the introductory essay will demonstrate that activity in this field is much broader than the folk media programmes often cited in development literature.

KORTEN, David C. and ALFONSO, Felipe B. (eds.), *Bureaucracy and the poor: closing the gap*, published for the Asian Institute of Management, Manila, McGraw-Hill International Book Company, Singapore, 1981, xiv-258 p.

The various studies gathered in this volume attempt to determine how the rural poor can be helped to become "fully participating members of their communities, sharing justly in its benefits as in its costs, its bounty as in its work". When programmes to reach the poor are centrally planned and implemented, they have little prospect of providing the poor even with reliable services, let alone building their capacity for more effective action. The studies in this volume point to a variety of bureaucratic reforms that can lead to a more effective social development, which in the first chapter is analyzed as a problem of structure and process. The other chapters thus discuss ways of creating responsive agencies, managing multi-agency programmes and meta-structures and processes, and helping the poor to help themselves. New planning frameworks are needed, as well as knowledge-building institutions for social development.

MORLEY, David, *The child's name is to-day* (presentation prepared for a public lecture on the occasion of the celebration at the Institute of Child Health of his receipt in 1982 of the first King Faisal International Health Award), 1982, 166 p.

In this presentation, David Morley has summarized in a very concise and thought-provoking way the situation of the world into which children are born today, their future in both rich and poor countries, the problems with existing health services, and the experiences that have led to the development of more appropriate health care systems based on community participation in health, nutrition, and education projects, and the introduction of appropriate technologies.

By accompanying each descriptive statement with a graphic illustration providing where possible the supporting statistics, David Morley has presented his argument in an easy-to-understand, striking way, yet without oversimplifying the complex issues involved. It is quite an accomplishment!

***Oxfam Field Directors' Handbook, guidelines and information for assessing projects*, Oxfam Overseas Division, Oxford, February 1980, 460 p.**

Oxfam projects abroad are designed with two objectives:

- for the poorest to *have more*, particularly in terms of food and health, and control of a fair share of the world's resources;
- for the poorest to *be more* in terms of confidence and ability to manage their own future, and their status in society at large.

The primary purpose of this handbook is to provide guidelines as to how these aims may be pursued. Drawing on past project experience, the handbook is divided into six parts: "Objectives and procedures", "Agriculture", "Health", "Social development", "Humanitarian programmes", and "Disaster relief". Within these major divisions, under each subject there is first a description of the basic problem, followed by a description of actions which can be taken, a bibliography of useful reading, and often a checklist of questions which can help in assessing the usefulness of a project or its chances of success.

The handbook thus represents an important and perhaps a unique source of reference for development field workers; it is certainly more than an internal document. Although the first part of the handbook describes Oxfam's organization and policy, any reader will find much of interest even here, particularly on the topic of project design and assessment. Emphasis is placed on the full participation of the people concerned in their own social and economic development.

The Field Directors' Handbook is in a loose-leaf format, to make subsequent revision easy, and is cased in a ring-binder.

Copies can be obtained from: The Publications Officer, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK, at a cost of £10.00 or $20.00 plus 15% for surface mail postage anywhere in the world.

***POETRI Reference Manual*, volume 1, Technical Paper Series no. 16, International Reference Centre for Community Water Supply and Sanitation, The Hague, April 1981, 397 p.**

A tool to prevent re-inventing the wheel in documented information, or a rapid first step to find the needle in the rapidly growing hay-stack of documents. Those are briefly the characteristics of IRC's most recent publication of interest to suppliers of information on community water supply and sanitation in developing countries. It is based on the experience gained in the first phase (1979-1981) of the Programme on Exchange and Transfer of Information (POETRI).

The manuel contains six different parts in a loose-leaf format, which can be used separately as individual guides and which can also be regularly revised and updated. These parts are:

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- planning for information support activities at the national level;
- design and setting-up of information services;
- national inventory of information sources on community water supply and sanitation;
- compilation of user inventories and survey of user requirements;
- education and training for information support.

Published under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the Netherlands Directorate General for International Cooperation, the manual mainly aims at managers, information officers, and documentalists of the information centers and other organizations that participate or are planning to participate in the POETRI programme, which was initiated in the context of the Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade. Volume II of the manual concentrating on tools and training materials is in the pipeline.

To order a copy of the POETRI Reference Manual, please make out an international cheque or money order payable to IRC for US$ 14.00. Non-commercial organizations and individuals based in or from developing countries may apply for a complimentary copy. Bulk order prices are reviewed on a case-by-case basis.

SHRIVASTAVA, Om and TANDON, Rajesh (eds.), *Participatory training for rural development*, Society for Participatory Research in Asia, New Delhi, 1982, 191 p.

"This book is an attempt to pull together experiences from different parts of India related to participatory training. There is an increasing need to train field workers, project officers, villagers, women, etc., in promoting peoples' participation in rural development. The book argues that the methodology of such a training needs to be congruent with the participatory principles of rural development. It contains a written introduction that gives the principles, methodology, and elements of such a participatory training, and includes eight case studies from diverse settings which provide detailed descriptions of these training efforts. The book will be useful to all those engaged in training personnel involved in rural development efforts, but particularly to field level practitioners and workers."

WALLACE, Helen M. and EBRAHIM, G. J. (eds.), *Maternal and child health around the world*, Macmillan, London, 1981, 379 p.

In this book a specially commissioned team of international experts presents a comprehensive account of the health problems of mothers and children in selected countries, both developed and developing, around the world. It discusses major problems of maternal and child health such as maternity care, family planning, prevention and control of diseases, problems of adolescents, and handicapped children and youth. Recognizing that most MCH problems are

public health and community problems that can be solved only by applying general measures to an entire area, Sections 7 and 8 deal with subjects such as "Identifying and mobilizing resources in the village society", "Training teachers for health workers", "Community nutrition", and "Social paediatrics". The curricula of medical schools and of training programmes for all levels of health personnel should be rendered more relevant to the needs of each nation, and programmes for the training of auxiliaries and village health workers must be developed and expanded.

WERDELIN, Ingvar, *Participatory research in education*, Report LiU-PEK-R-49, Department of Education, Linköping University, Linköping, 1979, 56 p.

Presented are a definition of the concept of participatory research in education, a discussion of participatory research as a scientific method, an analysis of the implications of the method, and a few examples of fields where the method can be used.

Participatory research differs from action research in that the activity is directed by the participants, and its goal is either the participants' growth or an evolution in their situation. In action research, the goals are determined outside the group taking part in the activity, and is ordered by an outside client.

Applications of the method in fields such as adult education, organization development, and developmental programmes in school are shown.

VAN WIJK-SIJBESMA, Christine, *Participation and education in community water supply and sanitation programmes, a literature review*, Technical Paper no. 12, International Reference Centre for Community Water Supply and Sanitation, Rijswijk, second, revised edition, December 1981, 222 p.

The demand for Christine van Wijk-Sijbesma's *Literature review* on community participation has been so great that IRC has published a second, revised edition.

This edition, focusing on water and sanitation in developing countries, incorporates additional information obtained from the extensive documentation IRC has since received from many readers of the first edition published in 1979. The revisions mainly concern the chapters on planning and evaluation, as well as the sections on economic conditions, manpower, the mass media, user education, delegation of authority and water rates, and training. New annexes feature topics such as educational inputs and manpower aspects of participatory water and sanitation projects. Spanish and French versions of the revised edition are in preparation.

To order a copy, please write to IRC. The order code is TP12E. Price US$15.00. Individuals and organizations based in and from developing countries may apply for a complimentary copy.

Directories

Directories of development organizations

Canadian Council for International Co-operation, *Directory of Canadian non-governmental organizations engaged in international development* / Conseil canadien pour la coopération internationale, *Répertoire des organismes non gouvernementaux engagés dans le développement international*, Ottawa, 1978, xiv-150/xiv-152 p. (bilingual).

This directory is an account of the contributions of 137 Canadian non-governmental organizations toward international development. It updates a 1974 edition. The information provided on each NGO includes its objectives, its membership, its publications, its activities overseas, its development education programme, its geographical field of activity, the number of Canadian staff working in the Third World, and the value of its programme. Where possible, these latter figures cover the approximate value of cash and material contributions, of development education programmes, and of CIDA's contributions.

Foundation Reshaping the International Order (RIO), *NIO Register, Register of institutes and organizations active in areas related to the New International Order*, third edition, compiled by Geraldine Skinner, Rotterdam, August 1980, xiii-158 p.

It is increasingly acknowledged that non-governmental institutes and organizations could and should play an important role in bringing about a New International Order (NIO). It is in the perspective of a better coordination of their efforts that this Register was first published in March 1977. This third edition has the following improvements:

— the number of institutes included has been expanded to 75 (first edition: 36);
— the number of countries in which institutes are located has increased to 32 (first edition: 16);
— the number of institutes located in the Third World has increased to 20 (first edition: 7);
— the information on activities is always to be found on the right page and has, in many cases, been expanded; and
— a register of nearly 600 persons playing a role in these institutes, through their governing bodies or management, has been added.

A table giving the classification of activities identifies in which of 20 "problem areas" the institutes focus their attention.

Although covering 75 institutes and organizations, the Register provides potential access to some 500, due to the fact that some of the institutes and organizations included can be viewed as "networks"—international and national.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Centre, *Directory of non-governmental organisations in OECD member countries active in development co-operation* / Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, Centre de développement, *Répertoire des organisations non-gouvernementales des pays membres de l'OCDE actives dans le domaine de la coopération pour le développement*, Paris, 1981, vol. I: Profiles/Descriptions, xxxiii-741 p.; vol. II: Index, xv-773 p. (bilingual).

Private voluntary agencies in OECD countries provided aid worth nearly $2.4 billion to developing countries in 1980. This was equivalent to an average of $3.50 per capita in the 17 member countries of OECD's Development Assistance Committee, according to data assembled by the DAC Secretariat.

Today, political circles and public opinion attach increasing importance to the methods and activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), both at home, towards educating citizens about the problems of the developing world, and abroad, in the multiple areas of development assistance: agriculture, rural development, health, education, housing, etc.

The two-volume, 1500-page Directory of NGOs published by the Development Centre—the first to be compiled since 1967—lists 1702 NGOs based in OECD countries and describes the nature, scope, and geographic location of their activities. Each profile also includes information on the organization's name in various languages, the addresses of its offices, its aims, affiliations, publications, staff, expenditures, and sources of finance.

The directory has two aims: to facilitate contacts and improve cooperation among the NGOs themselves, and to assist planners and decision makers in the Third World to identify appropriate sources of aid. It was derived from a computerized data base which is at the disposal of governmental and non-governmental institutions for documentary research.

This directory is on sale at the OECD Publications Office, 2, rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris Cédex 16 (tel. 01/524.81.65).

Overseas Development Committee, Overseas Aid and Development, *A Directory of NZ organisations*, edited by Kevin Clark, Wellington, 1980, 80 p.

As stated by Kevin Clark, the editor, in his Preface, "this directory and listing of educational resources of New Zealand organisations involved in international aid and development is the first of its kind to be published. It has been produced to provide a reference for the organisations themselves, the New Zealand public and overseas organisations...

The booklet covers a wide variety of organisations. It includes those who are involved in the dispersal of New Zealand funds and other forms of assistance to areas of need overseas as well as those who undertake educational work in New Zealand about poverty and underdevelopment. The majority of organisations listed are non-governmental (or voluntary) organisations. A small

number come from the government or business sectors. Many are wholly New Zealand organisations, although a significant number have links with or are part of international organisations. Some are quite large; many are quite small...

The booklet is divided into two main sections: the directory itself, and a listing of educational resources available for sale or loan from the organisations."

Overseas Development Institute (ODI), *Development guide, a directory of non-commercial organisations in Britain actively concerned in overseas development and training*, third edition, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1978, ix-216 p.

The ODI *Development Guide* is a directory of those British non-commercial organizations which are actively concerned with overseas development and training. The first edition was prepared by the Overseas Development Institute in 1962 and was the first reference work of its kind; this new edition continues to offer the most comprehensive collection available of information on a wide range of public and private organizations.

The entries in the Guide provide a brief description of each organization and more detailed information on available research, education/training, scholarship, advice, publication, and library facilities. The date of the organization's foundation is given as well as full details of its sources of financial support, offices, and the names of its principal officers. There is also a comprehensive index and bibliography, and a list of organizations in other countries from whom further information can be obtained.

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